Published by
Rameshwar Singh, for
Indological Book House
CK 31/10 Nepali khapara,
Varanasi (INDIA)

GAYATRI OFFSET PRESS N. DELHI-24

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PLATES

PREFACE.

THE object of my tour in the Panjâb in 1878-79 was to see several of the rather-out-of-the-way places, which had not been previously visited, so as to complete as far as possible a general exploration of the province. The temples at Bâghanvâla, Malot, and Ketâs were visited by Mr. Beglar, who then proceeded to Ali Masjid to excavate the various Buddhist remains which had been discovered on the occupation of the place by the British army.

I examined all the sites to the south of Mânikyâla, which had been visited by General Court, and then proceeded to Shah-dheri, the ancient Taxila, to explore some places which were supposed to have been left untouched by General Ventura. I then marched through the hills by Châsa, or Fatehjang, to Kâlâbâgh on the Indus, where I examined the hill fort of Mâri, now known as Kâfir-kot. From thence I crossed the Indus and marched down to the south across the Kuram River to Kâfir-kot of Til Raja, which still possesses some ruined Hindu temples. Then re-crossing the Indus I visited the site of Rokri, where the encroachment of the river had laid bare the remains of an old stûpa, with numerous Buddhist figures and heads in stucco. I then entered the Salt Range, and visited Amb, an old Hindu fort, which still possesses some Hindu temples.

From thence I visited the old sites of Bhera and Vijhi on the Jhelam, and of Sohdara on the Chinab, and proceeded *viâ* Siâlkot and Parsarur to explore the group of old mounds on the banks of the Bâgh-Bacha River. The occurrence of this name in the Eastern Panjâb, and close to Lahore, is extremely curious, as the legend of the Seven Tiger Cubs

(the Bâgh-Bacha) is intimately connected with the stories of Raja Hudi, Raja Sir-kap, and their antagonist Rasâlu, all of which belong to the Western Panjâb, and more especially to Taxila and the banks of the Indus.

Passing through Lahore I visited the lofty mound of China, 11 miles from Amritsar, which, I have no doubt, is the Chinapati of Hwen Thsang, which Kanishka made the winter residence of the Chinese hostages. Then crossing the Biâs River I explored the old sites of Sultânpur, Nakodar, and Nurmahal in the Jalandar Doab, and the more ancient sites of Sunit and Janer to the east of the Satlej.

From thence I visited the old city of Sadhora to the east of Ambâla, and the famous place of pilgrimage named Kapâl-mochan. To the south of this place I discovered the site of Tobra, or Topra, from whence Firoz Shah removed the stone pillar of Asoka, which is now standing at Delhi on the top of a building to the south of the city.

I closed my tour with a visit to Thânesar, where I explored the sites of the chief places on the great battle-field of Kurukshetra. These I have described in detail from Thânesar to Pehoa or Prithudaka on the west, showing their positions on a map on a large scale. Many of the sites are places of little or no consequence; but there are some which no Hindu can visit without a thrill of interest, such as an Englishman would feel on the field of Hastings or the plain of Waterloo. These are the famous spots connected with the story of the eighteen days' fight between the Pandus and Kaurus, with which almost every Hindu is more or less familiar. Each place has its little history. At Amin, Abhimanyu was killed; at Bhore, Bhurisravas was killed; at Asthipura, or the "place of bones," the dead were collected and burned. At Nagdu, 11 miles to the south-south-west of Thânesar, Bhisham, the general of the Kauravas, was killed by Arjuna. Other places of equal interest are pointed out all round. Here Drona was killed; here Karna spared the

life of the cowardly Yudhishthira; and there he was himself killed. The whole of the country round about Thânesar is redolent of names that are famous in Hindu history; and it is curious to observe that to the ordinary Hindu, who is quite familiar with all the details of the "eighteen days' fight" of the Mahâbhârat, the whole period that has elapsed since the Great War is a perfect blank.

A. CUNNINGHAM.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE PANJAB IN 1878-79.

I.—MÂNIKYÂLA.

THE great stûpa of Mânikyâla stands on the crest of a high ridge, just 16 miles to the south-east of Râwal Pindi. Owing to the want of trees, and its elevated position, the stûpa is visible from a very long distance. On all sides it is surrounded by ruins of temples, stûpas, and monasteries, which are prominent features in the landscape, owing to the peculiar formation of the country. Long parallel dykes of coarse friable sandstone, standing at a very steep angle, cross the whole breadth of the position from north-east to south-west. The intervals between the ridges, which are often very small, are filled with a reddish clay, which has been more or less worn away by the seasonal rains of many centuries. In some places the earth has been carried away to a depth of 10 and 20 feet, leaving a deep dry ravine with precipitous and perfectly parallel sides. Such is the trench at the head of which stands General Court's tope, No. 2 of my map.[1]

Advantage has been taken of these ridges, wherever they rise high above the fields, to crown them with stûpas and temples, which now form mounds of ruins generally covered with Muhammadan tombs. The remains of buildings cover a space of about 6 square miles, or 3 miles from north to south by 2 miles from east to west. The village of Mânikyâla stands very nearly in the middle of the ruins, with General Court's tope No. 2 at the extreme north, and the extensive remains called *Mâhal* on the south.

During my late visit I examined the country all round for many miles. To the north of the "Body-gift" stûpa, No. 2, opened by General Court, Hwen Thsang places a great stûpa,

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, Plate 62.

200 feet in height, which was built by Asoka. It was ornamented with admirable sculptures, and was surrounded by "hundreds of small stûpas and stone chapels." I could find no trace whatever of such buildings to the north; and therefore I think it almost certain that the bearing should be "south," which would identify Asoka's stûpa with the great Mânikyâla tope opened by Ventura. It had always seemed strange to me that the largest monument at Mânikyâla should have remained unnoticed by the Chinese pilgrim. But with the slight correction which I have proposed, I think it is almost impossible not to recognise the great stûpa of Asoka, 200 feet in height, with the grand dome which now forms so conspicuous an object for at least a dozen miles all round Mânikyâla. According to my measurements, the top of the hemispherical dome is 91 feet above the ground level at the foot of the basement, and the pinnacle, with its series of umbrellas rising one above the other, must have been at least 60 or 70 feet more, to judge from the proportions of the casket stûpa of the same age, which I exhumed at Mânikyâla. But these two dimensions together only give 150 or 160 feet, instead of the 200 feet noted by Hwen Thsang. In spite, however, of this discrepancy in the height, which was probably only an estimate made by the pilgrim, I feel almost certain that his stûpa of Asoka must be identified with the great tope opened by Ventura. To the east of this stûpa there was a monastery containing 100 monks who studied the Mahâyâna. This is well represented by an oblong mound to the east of the stûpa, now covered with Muhammadan tombs.

To the east of the "Body-gift" stûpa, at a distance of 50 *li*, or upwards of 8 miles, Hwen Thsang places a monastery, and a stûpa 300 feet high, which was built on the spot where Buddha had overcome a wicked Yaksha. The monastery was situated on an isolated hill and contained 200 monks. Guided by the information given by the people, I paid a visit to the large village of Mera, 9 miles to the east of the Mânikyâla tope, where it was said that a *thûp* stood on a hill overlooking the village. In the North-West Punjab, *thûp* is the name given to a stûpa, of which the dome still remains tolerably perfect, such as the Mânikyâla stûpa of Ventura, while *thûpi* is applied to a ruined stûpa, of which only the basement remains. Great, therefore, was my disappointment to find that the *thûp* of Mera was the dome of a Muhammadan tomb! The site, however, was evidently an old one,

and the numbers of cut stones lying about showed that the Muhammadan tombs had been constructed of old materials. There was nothing, however, to show that this was the site of a Buddhist establishment; but the very exact agreement of both bearing and distance from Mânikyâla are strongly in favour of Mera being the position of the monastery and stûpa of the wicked Yaksha described by Hwen Thsang.

At a short distance to the south of Court's stûpa (No. 2), I found one of the zamindars busily engaged in excavating the mound marked No. 5 for the sake of the stones. The mound proved to be the remains of a vihâra, with a stûpa attached. The walls covered a space 110 feet long by 52½ feet broad. The interior was similar in general arrangement to that of most of these Panjâb Buddhist temples.[1] There was an enclosed court, with a central room for a statue, and side-rooms for the officiating monks. The site of the statue I have marked by the letter S. In the same room there would also have been a platform or continuous pedestal all round for the reception of other statues. This is the arrangement prevalent in Burma at the present day, the room being lighted by openings in the walls just below the roof. In many cases I have seen the backs of the heads of the statues from the outside. In the excavation of this vihâra two large copper coins of Kanishka were found, from which I conclude that the building most probably dates from about his time, and was no doubt coëval with the neighbouring stûpa of the "Body-gift" which was opened by Court.

My own works were confined to the tract lying to the south and south-east of the great stûpa, which had not been previously explored. I first visited the prominent mound called *Kotera-ka-dheri*. It is marked No. 14 in Court's map, and I found that it had been very completely explored by him. The ruins comprise a monastery, 130 feet long by 95 feet broad, with a large stûpa to the north. The position is not easily accessible, as it is protected by deep ravines, in which there is plenty of good water. The walls of the monastery are built of very large stones, and the site might have proved a very snug little fort. It is 1¼ mile to the east-south-east of the great stûpa.

The remains at Mahal had escaped the notice of Ventura and Court, and had only partially been explored by the

[1] See Plates II and III.

villagers. There are three separate sites called Mahal to the south-east of the great stûpa, which I have marked with the numbers 23, 24, and 25. The nearest of these, No. 23, which is only half a mile from Ventura's tope, possessed a small monastery 60 feet square, with a small stûpa only 15 feet in diameter. The last had been carefully dug up by a zamindar in 1875, who asserted that he had found nothing. But in the clearance which I made all round the stûpa, I found a piece of a man's head in terra-cotta with curly hair, which was probably the remains of a small figure of Buddha. Inside the monastery a plaster figure was found.

No. 24 site lies just a quarter of a mile to the south-east of the last, and rather more than half a mile to the south-south-east of the great stûpa. This ruin I explored thoroughly. It consisted of a large vihâra, 137 feet long by 61 feet broad. The entrance was to the north towards Ventura's tope. The internal arrangement had the same open court, but the shrines and the monks' cells were not symmetrically laid out. Just inside the entrance to the left hand, in the midst of the open court, I found a pedestal, 12 feet 7 inches long by 5 feet broad, without any trace of surrounding walls. I take this to have been the site of a colossal seated figure of Buddha, as I found no less than three colossal sandstone heads within the enclosure.

The largest of these heads consists of the face only, from the roots of the hair to the chin, and without the ears. In this broken state it measures 22 inches in height and 21 inches across. In its unbroken state it must have been not less than 25 inches in height. A portion of the circular aureole belonging to this figure was found in the same place.

The second head was 22 inches in height from chin to top of hair and 20 inches across the face. The mouth, which was much broken, was 5 inches long, and the ears were long and pendent. The hair was curly, and the head was no doubt that of Buddha.

A third head measured 18 inches in height by 17 inches across the face. The neck was cut straight below where there was a mortice hole for the reception of a tenon showing that these colossal heads were made quite separate from the bodies. I suspect indeed that the bodies were built up and plastered over, just as they are in Burma at the present day.

The second of the colossal figures was most probably enshrined in the square room which I have marked A, and

the third in the smaller room close by marked B. There is another room, marked C, which I think must also have held a statue, but the remaining rooms inside the enclosure I take to be the cells of the resident monks. No coins were found in this ruin.

There is no mention of these colossal figures by Hwen Thsang, but his account of the Buddhist establishments at Mânikyâla is singularly meagre, considering the great extent of the place, and the size of its existing remains. It is of course quite possible that many of the monasteries and stûpas were already in ruins at the time of his visit, as this part of the country had for a long time past been under Brahmanical rule.

The third site of Mahal No. 25 lies just one quarter of a mile to the south of the last. It possesses the remains of a monastery, 74 feet by 72 feet, with the base of an attached stûpa 36 feet square. I traced several cells of the monastery, which consists of a conspicuous mound, also known as Rozi-ka Mera, or Rozi-ki-dheri. The ground all round is strewn with broken pottery, and on the monastery mound a girl found a gold coin, which was sold for Rs. 32.

The last site that I visited was Motu-ki-dhok, a small hamlet opposite the village of Singror, nearly 3 miles to the south of the great stûpa, at the junction of two deep ravines. Touching the hamlet on the south, there is a squâre mound of 57 feet side, on which stands a small square basement of a temple, only 12 feet 8 inches by 11 feet. The outer line no doubt formed the court of the temple. The mound varies from 10 to 15 feet high. All the smaller stones have been used up in the houses of the village, but I found a large stone, 7 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 10 inches broad, and 1 foot thick, which was too heavy to be carried off. The mound is also called Motu-garhi. The land is in the possession of a Sârsuti Brahman, who says that his ancestor came from Delhi to Pharwâla (the Gakhar capital) in the time of Mânik Rao, the founder of Mânikyâla.

With regard to the age of Mânikyâla I may mention that no coins of pure Greek kings are found there, whereas at Shâh-dheri, or Taxila, they are found in great numbers. It would seem, therefore, that the site was first occupied during the time of the early Indo-Scythians, and I think it not at all improbable that the place may owe its name to the Satrap *Manigal*, the father of the Satrap *Jihonia*, or *Zeionises*. The occupation of the site is certainly as old as the time of

Manigal, as I found a coin of his son Jihonia, in company with another coin of the paramount sovereign, Kujula Kara Kadphises, in the relic chamber of a stûpa on Sonâla-pind, just 1 mile to the east-north-east of the great stûpa. Jihonia may have reigned about the beginning of the Christian era.

To the north of the village of Mânikyâla many small objects of interest are found in tilling the fields. Gold leaf and charred wood (deodâr) are common finds. But during my last visit I obtained a gold coin of Kanishka and a bronze capital of a pillar surmounted by four lions back to back. I heard also of a gold bracelet of chain-work, which was sold for Rs. 80. It had four beads of rock crystal attached at regular intervals. I got also several pieces of copper-gilt vessels, and some pieces of melted gold.

In the accompanying plate I have given a full-size sketch of the bronze capital, Fig. 1, which appears to have been precisely similar in its treatment to the stone capitals of Central India. It was most probably surmounted by a holy wheel, the *Dharmachakra* of the Buddhists.

Figures 2 and 3 are needles for applying antimony to the edges of the eyelids. They are both of full size, but the points are broken off. Figure 3 is pierced right through in the upper part.

Figure 4 is the handle of a similar needle.

Figure 5 is a bronze mouse or rat, full-size; it is pierced across the middle

Figure 6 is a common Buddhist symbol in red carnelian; it is pierced from side to side for suspension.

Figure 7 is a frog in beryl; it is also pierced through from side to side for suspension.

Figure 8 is a monkey in garnet; this is also pierced through just below the neck.

Figure 9 is a cock in red carnelian. I think that this must have been the handle of an antimony needle, as its hole is pierced through between the legs. This would have done very well for fastening it as a handle, but could not well have been intended for suspension, as the bird would have hung with head downwards.

Figure 10 is a sheep in crystal; this also is pierced from side to side, for the purpose, as I believe, of fixing it as a handle to an antimony needle, or some other small instrument.

Figures 7 and 8 must have been applied to the same purpose.

Figures 11 and 12 are relic caskets, full size, one of dark-coloured soapstone and the other of light-grey soapstone.

Figure 13 is the lower half of a relic casket, of which the upper half must have been a dome-like hemisphere of a stûpa. It must have been in fact a copy in miniature of the great Mânikyâla Stûpa.

All these relic caskets must have been found in stûpas; but the coin-dealer from whom I obtained them professed to know nothing either about their find-spots or their contents

2.—RAMA-KA-DHERI.

Due south from Râwal Pindi, and 24 miles from the Mânikyâla Stûpa, on the high road leading to Chakowâl, there are several mounds lying between the village of Râma-ka-Pind and Panjgrâm. The mound to the north of Râma is 800 feet long by 150 feet broad, and 15 feet high. On its east side there is a large circular hole, where a round building formerly stood, which was opened by Ventura. Since his time the villagers have removed all the stones. "The ruins of the town of Râma" are mentioned by General Court as being 13 *kos* to the south-south-west of Mânikyâla.[1] It is unfortunate that we have no account of Ventura's explorations, except at Mânikyâla. The people say that the Râma mound was the site of an old city, but it is much too small for anything but a village, and I believe it to be the remains of a large monastery attached to the stûpa, which was opened by General Ventura, and which I think may be identified with that which Hwen Thsang mentions as standing on the site where Buddha had pricked his body with a bambu spike to nourish a starving tiger with his blood. This stûpa he places at 140 to 150 *li*, or about 24 to 25 miles, to the south of the stûpa where Buddha had given his body to a hungry tiger.[2] This last stûpa I have already identified with Court's tope at Mânikyâla. The position of the blood-offering stûpa consequently agrees exactly with the site of the excavated stûpa near Râma-ka-Pind.

The pious pilgrim gravely adds that all the ground round about, as well as the grass, had a deep-red hue, as if tinged with blood. This is quite true of the soil at the present day. He further notes that the people who till the soil seem to feel the pricks of thorns! The pricks indeed may be felt

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. III, p. 562, and Vol. V, p. 471.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, Vol. II, p. 164.

any day at the present time, as the ground is thickly covered with the thorns of both bâbul and ber trees. The difficulty is to avoid feeling them.

About 2 miles to the south-west of Râma and to the west of the road there is another larger mound called Balesar Pind, or the Balesar mound. It is close to the village of Panjgrâm, but as the land belongs to the Balesar zamindar the mound is called after its owner. The whole surface is covered with broken pottery, and a few superficial excavations yielded large bricks in great numbers, with quantities of burnt wood. The people say that charcoal is found everywhere at a depth of from 2½ to 3 feet. I got two silver coins in my excavations, both of which had been burned in the fire which destroyed the town. One of the coins was quite obliterated; but the other belonged to Syâlapati Deva, who reigned in the beginning of the tenth century. It may be guessed therefore that the place was destroyed during one of the campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazni.

A curious fact was brought to my notice by the people, that all the charcoal and burnt wood was of the bor tree, that is, of the banian or bor. Old men say that they had heard that in former days there was a large forest of bor trees in the neighbouring hollow below Râma. There are no banians there now, but that the tree will grow well in this part of the country is certain, as I saw some fine young trees at Suku, only 11 miles to the north-east, and there is one large banian in the village of Panjgrâm itself. I conclude, therefore, that the houses in the old town, which stood on the Balesar mound, must have been roofed with timbers of the banian tree.

3.—SHÂH-DHÈRI, OR TAXILA.

Since my last report for 1872-73,[1] I have again visited Shâh-dheri, which is now generally accepted as the site of the ancient Taxila. This identification I proposed in my report for 1863-64, and every fresh discovery only makes it more certain. I will now add a few words regarding its name.

The principal remains at Shâh-dheri are the two ruined cities of *Sir-Kap* and *Sir-Sukh*. All the people agree in stating that *Sir-kap* is only a slight alteration of *Sir-kat*, or the "cut-head." Now this is the exact meaning of *Taksha-Sira*,

[1] See Archæological Survey, Vol. V. p. 66.

or *Takhasira*, which was the Buddhist form of the name. The original Sanskrit name was *Taksha-sila nagara*, or the city of "cut-stone," but the Buddhists, by the slight alteration of *l* to *r*, were enabled to invent the famous legend of Buddha cutting off his head to offer to a hungry tiger. The original name is preserved by the Greeks in Taxila, which is a very exact transcript of the Pali *Takha-sila*. But in spite of the prevalence of the Buddhist legend, the place was still called Takhasila even in Buddhist records, as we find in the copper-plate inscription which was found in Sir-sukh.[1] The date of this record is most probably very close to the beginning of the Christian era. But in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni the place was still called *Tâkhasir*. As I have noted above, the people are quite unanimous about the meaning of *Sir-Kap*, as the "severed head," and they all quote the legend of the Raja who used to play with strangers at *Chaupar* for "heads;" and when he won, which he always did by fraud, the loser had his head cut off, and therefore the Raja got the name of *Sir-kap*, or *Sir-katne-wala*, or the "beheader."

For the other name of Sir-sukh the people give no meaning, and are content with saying that he was the brother of Sir-kap. But I believe that it is only a corruption of the old name of *Chhahara-chukhsa* as found in the copper-plate inscription extracted from the stûpa of Liako Kusulako in the village of Thupkia, inside the enclosure of Sir-sukh. The old name would have been pronounced as *Tshahara-tsukha* in the Western Punjab, which is so close to an approximation to *Saharsukh* that the present name of *Sir-sukh* would certainly have been suggested by the neighbouring name of *Sir-kap*.

But the town of *Chhahara-chukhsa* is stated in its own inscription to be situated to the north-east of Takhasila, which is the very position which Sir-sukh bears to Sir-kap, and consequently *Sir-kap* must be Taxila.

In my previous report I described the ruins of a Greek Ionic temple at Mohra Maliâr *outside* the walls of Sir-kap. During my last visit I discovered the remains of a second Greek temple of the same Ionic style *inside* the city. The former I have already identified with a temple described by Apollonius, "whose dimensions were nearly 100 feet, built of porphyry, within which was a chapel, too small in proportion

[1] See Professor Dowson's Translation in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XX, p. 221.

to the size of the temple, which was large, spacious, and surrounded with pillars.[1] The remains which I have now discovered I would identify with the temple of the sun, as described by the same author. This temple was clearly *inside* the city, and is described as possessing statues of Alexander and Porus, the former of gold, the latter of bronze. The walls of the temple were of porphyry enriched with ornaments of gold, and the image of the sun was adorned with pearls arrayed in a symbolical order.

The position of this Ionic temple was in the very heart of the city, towards the southern end, on the spot where I have placed a pillar in the map which accompanied my report of 1863-64.[2] Here Nûr, the great treasure-seeker, had dug up a large column, which was pointed out to me by the people, who stated that he had secretly broken it up into small pieces in the hope of discovering gold inside. When first discovered it was said to have consisted of one square piece, and of five or six cylindrical pieces, all broken. The largest piece that I saw had a diameter of 2 feet 8½ inches, with a mortice hole 6 inches square and 4 deep. The smallest had a diameter of 2 feet 6½ inches. During my last visit in 1878 I was informed that the remains of a large pillar had been found underground inside the city. On visiting the spot it seemed to me to be the very spot marked in my map as the place where I had seen the fragments left by Nûr. The people, however, said that Nûr's pillar had been found about 25 feet to the westward, and there on digging I discovered two fragments left by Nûr. The base of the new pillar I found *in situ*, the lower part being just 6 feet under ground. When first discovered there was one portion of the drum still standing on the base. Other similar stones had been found previously, but all had been cut into pieces and carried off to build the masjid in Mohra Maliàr. The remains of Nûr's pillar had in the same way been taken for the masjid at Dibiya. I found only three pieces of the bottom drum, which had been found *in situ*. It had been cut into four pieces for easy removal. The largest piece gave a diameter of 2 feet 8½ inches, and the next larger gave a diameter of 2 feet 8 inches. As this is the exact diameter of the column found by Nûr close by, I think that there can be no doubt that the two pillars must have belonged to the same temple. These pillars are just 4 inches greater in

[1] Philostratûs, Life of Apollonius, Vol. II, p. 23.
[2] Archæological Survey, Vol. II, p. 128.

diameter than those of the other Janic temple outside the city. There are some slight differences of detail in the mouldings which will be seen in the accompanying drawings.[1] The section of the new base was verified by making a clay cast which was cut down perpendicularly while still wet; when dry it was laid upon a sheet of paper and its outline traced by a pencil.

I made excavations in all directions, east, west, north, and south, in the hope of discovering some more remains of this ancient temple, but without success. The whole of the walls had been dug out, with the single exception of the small portion on which the newly discovered base was standing. The base itself was saved by being built over as a part of one of the later walls. Several walls, 6 feet in thickness, were found just below the surface, some running north and south and others east and west, but not one was coincident with the line of the old pillar wall. Some of the walls were only 4 feet deep beneath the surface. and none were deeper than 6 feet, which marks the amount of accumulation of rubbish inside the city since the building of the Janic temple. Some of the drums of the shaft are said to have been in two pieces, and none of them more than 15 inches in height. All the pieces of shaft that I saw had been broken by the people for the convenience of lighter carriage.

While this excavation was going on I explored the Little Jhandiâla mound, a short distance to the north of the city.[2] This proved to be the ruins of a very large vihâra, 181 feet long by 114 feet broad. Except where the roots of some tough bushes remained, the whole of the superstructure had been removed, so that my plan scarcely represents more than the foundation walls. But from what I have seen of the arrangement of other vihâras, I conclude that the great statue must have been enshrined at the spot which I have marked S in the plan, at the end of the great centre room.[3] Here I found traces of a platform on each side, which probably occupied both sides of the room as well as the back wall. The entrance to the building was on the south, facing the city. In front of the shrine room there was a large open court, 105 by 52 feet, and on each side of the temple there was a row of rooms for the officiating monks, with a cloister

[1] See Plate VII.
[2] See No. 38 in the accompanying map of Shah-dheri, Plate V.
[3] See Plate VI.

in front of each row. No coins or other remains were found on this site, in spite of its promising appearance.

My next work was the exploration of the Meri Hill, along an isolated ridge to the east of the old city, which appeared to be covered with ruins. This I found to be actually the case, but the whole of the buildings had been explored by the people, and every stûpa had been carefully dug up. The hill rises rather abruptly at its western end, but its eastern end slopes gently down to an easy pass in the long range to the south of the Haro River. The highest point is about 400 feet above the plain.

All the salient points of the hill are crowned with Buddhist buildings. I traced four distinct groups, each consisting of a stûpa and monastery, or a stûpa and vihâra with other small buildings and one or two tanks. All the stûpas had been opened long before, and nothing whatever was known as to their contents. The walls of all the buildings are made of a hard blue stone, and are quite plain. But there are numerous fragments of mouldings in *kankar* stone, some straight and some curved, which may have belonged to small chapels. I say *small* because the mouldings themselves are of small size, and could only have belonged to small buildings. I have marked the positions of these remains by different letters in the accompanying map, and I will now give a brief account of them, beginning at the east end of the hill:—

A was a small stûpa, with a small building

B attached to it on the west. This building was 22 feet square, and consisted of two rooms with a veranda in front, for the accommodation of two resident monks.

C was a vihâra with a room 31 feet long, facing the east, and a stûpa

D, and a tank behind it on the west.

E was a monastery, 104 feet long by 74 feet broad, with a stûpa

F on the north side. Several pieces of *kankar* mouldings were found here.

G was another monastery, 100 feet long by 93 feet broad, with outer wall of 3 feet 10 inches, and inner walls of 2 feet 6 inches in thickness. The cells were 12 feet square. To the west was a stûpa

H, and to the north the remains of two small buildings, probably vihâras.

Near the northern foot of the hill below G, and about 30

feet above the fields, I observed several level terraces, which proved to be a succession of platforms covered with the ruins of a great number of small stûpas, all crowded together and generally touching one another at the bases. The dome of the largest of these stûpas was only 4 feet 8 inches in diameter. They are all built of stone, and the plaster facing still remains on most of them I made a rough survey of the site, and traced the remains of not less than eighty of these small stûpas. I found also the remains of a circular wall, 5 feet 9 inches thick, which appeared to form part of the original enclosure on the west side. On another terrace, 20 feet higher up the hill, I found many squared stones, but could not trace any plan of a building. I have no doubt, however, that this was the site of some great stûpa, of which all the existing little stûpas formed part of the votive monuments surrounding it. The position lies to the east of the old town, and seems to me to correspond very well with the site of the great stûpa which was built on the spot where Kunâla, the son of Asoka, had his eyes put out through the treachery of his step-mother. According to Hwen Thsang, this stûpa stood on the north side of a mountain outside the town, on the south-east side. The position to the north of a mountain agrees exactly with that of the eighty small stûpas; but the direction is east instead of south-east.

I have, however, a suspicion that these numerous small stûpas at the north foot of the Meri Hill may be only a part of the large number of one thousand stûpas which most probably once marked the site where Buddha had made an offering of his head one thousand different times. The whole place is covered with ruins, and has evidently been once occupied by some large Buddhistic establishment. The level rocky platform just above the excavated stûpas might easily have held five hundred more; and there is room on the lower slope for a few hundreds more. I left more than half of this platform untouched, as it did not promise to yield anything besides similar small stûpas to those which had already been uncovered. None of the stûpas contained anything; and I conclude that they were only votive buildings erected by pilgrims The great stûpa of Dhâmek at Sârnâth, near Benares, was similarly surrounded by hundreds of small stûpas; and so are all the great stûpas in Burma at the present day.

On the edge of the cliff, just above the ruined stûpas, I found the plinth of a small square building, 15 feet 9 inches long by 12 feet broad, which I take to be the remains of one

of the small chapels which must have surrounded some great stûpa.

Numerous objects of interest, both in stone and metal, are being constantly discovered in the ruins of Shâh-dheri. The greater number of these are very small, being chiefly animals, in carnelian, crystal, onyx, and bloodstone, most of which would appear to have been the ornamental heads either of long needles for anointing the eyelids with antimony, or of small spatulæ for spreading quicklime on the *pân* leaf. A few of the larger objects in metal I have collected in the accompanying plate[1] :—

A is a figure of Buddha, full size. There is nothing peculiar about it except that the head and right shoulder are both covered, instead of being bare, as in all the Indian examples. In most of the Gândhâra sculptures also the right shoulder is covered, although the head is bare. Perhaps the colder climate necessitated this departure from the Indian rules of dress.

B is the handle of a long needle, full size, for putting antimony on the eyelids. The figure is that of a female, but I am not able to recognise it.

D is the handle of a door of half size. I am able to recognise this from the representations of doors in the Gândhâra sculptures. The head is boldly designed and forms a very effective and not ungraceful ornament, very much like a modern door-knocker.

E is a fragment of the rim of a flat dish, with the head of a monkey or of a *ban-mânus*, or "wild man." A similar head with animal's ears is also found on some rare coins from Taxila.

F is a goldsmith's hammer of half size. As it is hollow it must have had a wooden handle. The style of its handle, with a square end, is well represented on the metal itself.

G and H, a goat's head and a lion's head, are apparently portions of complete figures. I am unable to guess to what purpose they were put.

Numbers of *terra-cotta* and clay seals are also found at Taxila, of each of which I have made a small selection in the accompanying plate, the former being represented of half size and the latter of full size[2] :—

No. 1 is the full-length figure of a female standing to

[1] See Plate VIII. [2] See Plate IX.

the front, completely clad down to the ankles, with a garland round the neck, large earrings, and a monstrous head-dress. I suspect, however, that the preposterous appearance is partly due to the artist's anxiety to display the ornaments of the back of the head by spreading them out at the sides.

No. 2 is another full-length figure of a female, also standing to the front, but clad in a very simple costume, without ornaments. The lower part of her dress is collected together in front by her left hand, so as to cling closely round the ankles.

No. 3 is a full-length figure of a female standing to the front and carrying a rather big child astride on her left hip. With her right hand she grasps the child's left knee. The mother has a large garland thrown over her left shoulder, and the child has an ornamental zone round the loins.

No. 4 is a seal of dark clay with the figure of a Mænad, or Bacchante, clad in loose garments, and carrying a thyrsus in her right hand. A somewhat similar figure is found on all the square copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. But as the figure on the seal is inferior, both in design and in execution, to that of the Greek coins, it must belong to a later date, and I would therefore assign it to the first century before the Christian era, during the last days of Greek rule.

No. 5 is a red clay seal, representing a figure riding in a chariot drawn by two horses. It is probably a rude copy of some Greek work, as the coin of Platon shows that the subject of Helios driving his chariot was well known in Bactria. The Sun-god of the Indians, so far as I am aware, has always been represented as standing in a chariot drawn by either four or seven horses, with Aruna as his driver. In the mediæval sculptures the seven horses are placed on the pedestal of the statue, where they are mere symbols. The oldest Indian representation of the Sun-god is on one of the old Buddhist pillars—at Bodh-Gaya. In this sculpture the god is attended by two figures, who are shooting arrows downwards, which are typical of the sun's rays. On the seal the figure in the chariot is alone, and on that account I am inclined to look upon it as a ruder copy of some Greek work.

No. 6 is a piece of dark clay stamped with a variety of

symbols. At first I thought it might have been one-half of a mould for gold or silver casts. But the imperfect state of most of the symbols seems rather to point to a trial piece of the different designs.

No. 7 is a piece of dark clay stamped with old Nâgari characters of the seventh or eighth century. I read the letters as *Sri Gihila*, a man's name.

No. 8 is a seal of bright-red clay stamped with the Arabic word نصل, *nasal*, a "sword."

Thousands upon thousands of *coins* are also found amongst the ruins of Taxila, which, though perhaps not so interesting as the figures and ornaments, are certainly more valuable for the history of the city, as they range from the most ancient times down to the present day. In the accompanying plate I have brought together a selection of specimens of the most ancient period down to the time of the Greeks.

The earliest Indian coins are small pieces of silver and copper, either square or round, with several marks stamped on one or both faces by different punches or small dies, which occupy only a small portion of the coin.

As the weight of the better preserved silver specimens is about 56 grains, we learn that each of these punch-marked silver pieces was a *Kârshapana*, or in the spoken language *Kâhapana*, which is stated by Manu to have weighed 4 mâshas or 32 *ratis*, or just 56 grains.[1]

The pieces of copper money are of many different weights; but the greater number are specimens of the *pana* and its divisions, a few only being of large size and extra weight. The *pana* was the unit of the old Indian copper money. It was also called the copper *Kârshapana*, and its weight is stated by Manu to be 80 *raktikas*, or 140 grains. The half *pana* was called *Arddhapana*, and the quarter was named *Kâkini*.

Gold coins are also mentioned under the name of *Suvarna*, or "the gold piece," but no specimen of this coin has yet been found. Its weight was 16 mâshas, or 140 grains, the same as that of the copper *pana*. In value it was equal to 25 silver *Kârshapanas*. Its divisions are not mentioned; but in the accompanying plate I have given a specimen of the gold coins of Taxila, of which only three have yet been found. As my two specimens weigh respectively 33·75 and 33·25 grains, they are probably intended for quarter *suvarnas*,

[1] Laws of Manu, Vol. VIII, pp. 134–137.

although they might be taken for *quarter-staters* of the Attic standard.

Taking the silver *Kârshapana* at its value in pure metal of 44·8 grains, and knowing that 25 *Kârshapanas* were equal to one gold *suvarna* of 140 grains, we obtain the rate of 8 silver to 1 gold. For $44{\cdot}8 \times 25 = 1{,}120$ grains of silver, which divided by 140 gives 8 *ratis*. Similarly the *rati* of copper must have been 50 to 1 of silver; for 16 *panas* of 140 grains $= 2{,}240$ grains of copper, which divided by 44·8 gives exactly 50 *ratis*. But if the whole weight of 56 grains of the *Kârshapana* was esteemed as pure silver, then the *ratis* would have been 1 gold $=$ 10 silver and 1 silver $=$ 40 copper.

The old Indian coins, with their weights and values, were the following:—

GOLD ...	1 *Suvarna*,	140 grains	= 25	Silver *Kârshapanas*.
	¼ do.	35 „	= 6¼	do.
SILVER ...	1 *Kârshapana*	56 „	= 16	Copper *panas*.
	½ *Kona*	28 „	= 8	do.
	¼ *Tangka*	14 „	= 4	do.
COPPER ...	1 *Pana*	140 „	= 80	Cowree shells.
	½ *Arddhapana*	70 „	= 40	do.
	¼ *Kâkini*	35 „	= 20	do.
	⅛ *Arddha kâkini.*	17½ „	= 10	do.

In my account of the coins of the Greek successors of Alexander in the East, I have given my reasons for believing that "the Hindus were in actual possession of a real coinage at the time of Alexander's expedition."[1] Amongst other arguments I pointed to the fact that the numerous coins found at Taxila, which are *struck upon one side only*, are older than those with types on both faces; and that the Indian coins bearing the types of a lion on one side and of an elephant on the other "formed the prototype of the coinage of the Indo-Grecian kings Pantaleon and Agathokles." I also pointed out that these square copper coins of Taxila, with one or more corners cut off for adjustment of weight, are quite foreign, both in shape and in standard, to any of the Greek systems. And lastly I quoted the statement of Quintus Curtius, that when Alexander reached Taxila the Raja, named Omphis, "presented golden crowns to Alexander and his friends, in addition to 80 talents of *coined silver*."[2] The words used by Curtius are *signati argenti*, which cannot possibly bear any other meaning than that of actual

[1] Numismatic Chronicle— Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East,' last No.

[2] Vita Alexandri, Vol. VIII, pp. 14-81—Præter hæc signati argenti LXXX talenta dono dedit.

stamped coin, as *signatus* was the special term used by the Romans to denote coined money.

But a recent discovery has established the fact that these square copper coins of Taxila were actually current at the same time as the square copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles During the past year, 1879, no less than eighty copper pieces were found together in one pot amid the ruins of Taxila. I have obtained sixty of these coins, and have seen two others. Amongst these sixty-two there are three coins of Pantaleon and three of Agathokles. Specimens of all these coins are shown in the accompanying plate, in which I have given precedence to the coins struck on one face only to those struck on both faces.[1] The numbers of each different kind were as follows:—

Single-die coins	*No*: 6	of Plate	2	specimens.
	" 7	"	26	"
	" 10	"	14	"
	" 12	"	5	"
	" 13	"	6	"
Two-die coins	" 14	"	3	"
Pantaleon	" 17	"	3	"
Agathokles	" 18	"	3	"
		Total	... 62	coins.

I had obtained specimens of all these coins before, as well as of several others of similar types, like Nos. 8, 9, 11, and 15, none of which were found amongst these eighty coins.

There is a peculiarity about the single-die coins which separates them in a most marked way from the two-die coins as well as from the square copper coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles. This peculiarity lies in their weight or standard, which is that of the true Indian *pana* of 140 grains, as will be seen by the following details:—

				Grains.	Average.
Of No.	6,	8	specimens weigh	1115·0	139·4
	7,	33	" "	4705·0	142·8
	8,	1	" "	164·0	164·0
	9,	2	" "	312·5	156·2
	10,	16	" "	2254·0	140·8
	11,	5	" "	755·0	147·0
	12,	12	" "	1613·0	134·4
	13,	5	" "	719·5	143·9
Coins	80			11,618·0	141·7

[1] See Plate X

With the double-die coins, which bear types on both sides, the coins become heavier, and agree exactly with the weights of the square copper pieces of Pantaleon and Agathokles, thus :—

		Grains.	Average.
Of No. 14,	34 specimens weigh	6205	182·5
	9 half-size, average	91·1	182·2
15,	5 specimens weigh	925·5	185·1
		(3)	549·8
			183·3

		Grains.	Average.
Of No. 17,	9 Pantaleon weigh	1629	181·0
18,	15 Agathokles weigh	2700	180·0
		(2)	361·0
			180·5

Now a coin of 180 to 190 grains does not belong to the Attic standard, while it is as nearly as possible $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pana* of the Indian standard, or 140+35=175 grains, which was almost certainly an actual coin, as it is mentioned by Manu as the amount of fine for cattle trespass.[1] The later law-giver Yâjnavalkya also mentions fives of $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 10, $12\frac{1}{2}$, 25, 50, 100, &c., *panas*, a scale which would include the smaller division of $1\frac{1}{4}$ *pana*. I think, therefore, that there is a very strong presumption in favour of these coins also being of Indian origin; and if so it follows that the square copper pieces of Pantaleon and Agathokles must have been copied from them, both as to shape and standard. That the two classes of coins were current at the same time we have evidence in the fact of their being found together at Taxila. Another proof is also afforded by the type of the galloping horse on Nos. 15 and 16, which is evidently copied from the copper coins of Euthydemus, who was a contemporary of Agathokles; and I may point to a third proof in the presence of a Greek monogram under the horse on No. 16, which I believe to be the monogram of the city of Taxila.

Before proceeding to describe the coins themselves, I wish to draw special attention to the peculiar symbol which is found on one side of the punch-marked silver coin No 1, and on the small gold coin No. 9, as well as on the copper coin No. 3, in

[1] Code of Manu by Haughton, Vol. VIII, p. 240.

a slightly modified form. Now I have observed that this symbol is always found alone on what may be called the reverse of the punch-marked silver coins which come from Taxila, and as it occurs on at least three-fourths of them, it seems to me highly probable that it may have been the ancient symbol of the city of Taxila. Out of some 30 specimens received at different times from Shâh-dheri, I find that no less than 22 coins present this symbol on one side by itself. It seems to be composed of two broad arrow-heads and two crescents arranged alternately round a central boss.

Perhaps the most interesting coins given in the Plate are Nos. 20, 21, and 22. All three are inscribed, and two of them bear inscriptions in both the Indian and Arian forms of Pali used in the time of Asoka, as well as on the coins of the Greek Agathokles. Of No. 20 I have five specimens, all with precisely the same legends. On the obverse in Indian letters is the word *Negamâ* with a horizontal stroke above, which is perhaps intended for the numeral 1. On the reverse in Arian letters is the word *dojaka*, with a representation of a steel-yard underneath. No. 21 has a female figure on the obverse, which looks like the usual Greek representation of Victory. On the reverse there is an Arian Pali legend in two lines, both injured; at the beginning I read . . . . *dare nekama*; No. 22 is inscribed on both sides in Indian characters. On one side, which is only slightly injured, I read the two lines as *antaro taka*, and on the other side *nekama*. At present I am quite puzzled by these inscriptions, I think, however, that *negama* may perhaps be the Sanskrit *Nigama*, meaning " commercial," that is the " trade-token " or coin of commerce. This reading is supported by the type of the steel-yard, which may be taken to imply the same thing. But what may be the meaning of *dojaka* I cannot even guess. *Negama* I take to be the name of the coin itself. On No. 21 I think that the missing letter was probably A., which would give the upper line as *andare* in agreement with the *antaro* of No. 22.

The three good specimens of No. 20 weigh respectively 120, 112, and 107·5 grains, and No. 21 weighs 114 grains, while No. 22 weighs only 65 grains, or about one-half of the heavier coins. If we might read the Arian legend No. 20 as *do-daka*, which might perhaps be done on account of the similarity between the letter *j* and the cerebral *d*, then the heavier coins might be pieces of *two-tangkas* or *do-takâ*, called *Negama*, while the smaller coin was a single *tangka* or *taka*. But this suggestion would still leave unexplained the word

antaro or *andare*. It is perhaps just possible that it may be the name of the country of which Taxila was the capital. Pliny calls the district *Amanda*, of which name I have somewhere seen the various reading of *Amendra*.[1] The *andara negamâ* and the *antara taka* might therefore be the money of the district of *Amendra:*

There are also many small coins found at Taxila, varying in weight from 9 to 65 grains. The commonest kinds bear a Chaitya and the Asoka letter *M*. Those weighing from 60 to 70 grains must be specimens of the *arddhapana*, or half *pana*, while those ranging from 25 to 40 must be *Kâkinis*, or quarter *panas*. Eighths of *panas* or half *Kâkinis* are also mentioned by Manu, which must of course be the smallest pieces between 12 and 20 grains. As the *pana* was equal to 80 cowree shells in value, the half *Kâkini* was worth only 10 cowrees, and in Northern India, where these shells are scarce, even still less or not more than 8 cowrees. Anything valued at less than half a *Kâkini* would, therefore, be paid for in cowrees.

I take this opportunity of drawing attention to the modern *Kâkini*, which has been abbreviated into *Kâni* This is conclusively shown by the meaning now attached to the word, which is "one-sixty-fourth." Now the *Kâkini* being exactly one-fourth of the copper *pana* was just one-sixty-fourth of the silver *Kârshapana* or *Kâhapana*, which was the standard Indian coin in ancient times. From its very small value, the name of the coin soon came into use to denote anything inferior as "bad land," or a "broken cowree shell" or Kâni cowree.

Description of the Coins.

No. 1.—Square silver punch-marked coin, 42 grains. The corner has been cut off to adjust the piece to the required weight.

Obv.—Four separate punch-marks, 1, a bull partly overstruck by 2, a wheel, with symbols attached to the circumference, 3 a full-blown flower, 4 a tree with very thick trunk.

Rev—A circular punch containing the Taxila symbol.

No. 2.—A large round coin of cast copper, weight 208 grains; *unique; piece of $1\frac{1}{4}$ pana*.

Obv.—A solid cross with four equal arms.

Rev.—The Chaitya symbol.

[1] Historia Naturalis. Vol. VI, p. 21.

Coins of one type only.

No. 3.—Small round copper coin, weight 35½ grains, a *Kâkini*, or ¼ *pana*, very rare; three specimens.

Obv.—A modification of the Taxila symbol.

No. 4.—Small round copper coin, weight 52 grains; very rare; two specimens.

Obv.—The *Swastika* or mystic cross.

No. 5.—Round brass coin cast; weight 143 grains; four specimens in my cabinet.

Obv.—*Chaitya* symbol, and cross with four equal arms.

No. 6.—Square copper coin; average weight of eight specimens, 139·4 grains.

Obv.—Buddhist monolith and Chaitya in a sunken square. On one specimen the monolith is on the right

No. 7.—Square copper coin; average weight of 33 specimens, 142·5 grains.

Obv.—Monolith in the court of Buddhist monastery with cells inside. Chaitya symbol to right, and a snake below, all in a sunken square.

No. 8.—Square copper coin; *unique;* weight 164 grains.

Obv.—Chaitya symbol, and Bodhi tree surrounded by a Budhhist railing; all in a sunken square.

No. 9.—Square copper coin; two specimens only weighing 175·5 and 137 grains.

Obv.—Chaitya symbol and a Bodhi tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with *Swastika* and a symbol like the Asoka letter *M.* to right; all in a sunken square.

No. 10.—Square copper coin; average weight of 16 specimens, 140·8 grains.

Obv.—Pyramidal pile of balls and Chaitya symbol above with a snake across the middle, and two branches of trees with leaves below; all in a sunken square.

No. 11.—Oblong copper coin; five specimens, average weight, 147 grains.

Obv.—Chaitya symbol to left, pyramidal pile of balls to right with *Swastika* above and snake below.

No. 12.—Oblong copper coin; average weight of 12 specimens, 134·4 grains.

Obv.—Pyramidal pile of balls to left, surmounted by a three-pointed symbol, Chaitya, to right, with a man between holding up his right hand before the pyramid as if in adoration; all in a sunken square.

No. 13.—Round copper coin; average weight of five specimens, 143·9 grains.

Obv.—Chaitya symbol in middle with man facing it to right and holding up his hand in adoration. Below his feet the *M.* symbol, and below the Chaitya a pyramidal pile of balls. Inscription in one perpendicular line to left in Asoka characters, *Vataswaka*, all in a sunken circle

Coins with types on both sides.

No. 14.—Square copper coin; average weight of 34 specimens, 182·5 grains. There are also half coins of the same type; average weight of nine specimens, 91·1 grains.

Obv.—Indian leopard facing to right. In front a Chaitya, and behind a *Swastika*; all in a sunken square.

Rev.—Elephant walking to left; Chaitya above.

No. 15.—Square copper coin; average weight of five specimens, 185·1 grains

Obv.—Elephant walking to right, with peculiar three-pronged symbol in front.

Rev.—Horse galloping to left, a star above; all in sunken square.

No. 16.—Similar to the last, but with a Greek monogram forming the letters TA or TAKA under the horse.

No. 17.—Square copper coin; average weight of nine specimens, 181 grains.

Obv.—Indian leopard walking to the right; Greek legend in two horizontal lines ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

Rev.—A Mænad with flowing robes, holding a thyrsus in her right hand, and apparently dancing. Indian Pali legend in two horizontal lines *Rajina Pantalevasa.*

No. 18.—Square copper coin; average weight of 15 specimens, 180 grains.

Obv.—Type as on No. 18; Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Rev.—Type as on No 18, Indian Pali legend *Rajina Agathukleyasa.*

No. 19.—Small round gold coin, weighing 33·25 grains; two other specimens weigh 33·75 and 32·75 grains.

Obv.—Humped Indian bull to left with *M.* symbol in front, in a sunken circle.

Rev.—The Taxila symbol.

No. 20.—Oblong coin of white brass, weighing 107·5 grains. Two other specimens weigh 120 and 112 grains.

Obv.—Indian Pali inscription in Asoka letters reading *Negama*, with a horizontal stroke above, perhaps intended for the numeral 1.

Rev.—A steel-yard, with Arian Pali inscription above, reading *dojaka*, or perhaps *dodaka*.

No. 21.—Oblong copper coin weighing 114 grains; unique.

Obv.—Figure of a Mænad moving to left, rudely copied from the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles in bad preservation and indistinct.

Rev.—Arian Pali inscription in two lines, reading * * *Dare Nekamâ*

No. 22.—Oblong brass coin, weighing 65 grains; unique.

Obv.—Indian Pali inscription in two lines, reading *antaro takâ*.

Rev.—Imperfect. Below one line of Indian Pali letters, reading *Negama*.

4.—CHASA OR FATEHJANG.

Thirty miles to the west of Râwal Pindi, and 24 miles to the south of Shâh-dheri, there is a large town, now called Fatehjang but which is equally well known by its old Hindu name of Châsa. The town is a flourishing one in spite of its deficient supply of water. The site is certainly an old one, as is proved by the number of ancient coins which are found there, ranging up to the time of the Greek kings. The place owes some of its prosperity, no doubt, to its situation at the point where the two roads to Khushâlgarh and Kâlabâgh separate.

Just 1 mile from the town, and exactly opposite the point where the road divides, there is a very large mound, 225 feet long from east to west and 160 feet broad at base, with a height of 26 feet 3 inches. It is covered with cut stones, and has evidently been occupied in later times as a sort of stronghold. I made numerous excavations, but although I found many walls, yet most of them ran at different angles and evidently had no connection with one another. On the north side, near the base of the mound, I found three long walls running quite parallel, but they were only 5 feet and 8 feet apart, and as I could not find any cross-walls, I look upon them as mere retaining walls of the mound, which I take to have been the site of a great temple. Near the top, on the north side, there was another piece of wall parallel to the three walls at the foot of the hill, and this was probably the uppermost wall of the terrace on which the temple stood. On the south side I found two cross-walls, each about 40 feet in length, that were parallel to each other; but there were no traces of other walls with which they could have had any

connection, unless the included space was very irregular in shape.

The remaining walls appear to be of different ages, but I could not find even a single room, so much disconnected are all the traceable remains. The fact is that the mound has been used as a readily accessible and easy quarry for the houses of the town, so that all the standing buildings have been dismantled, leaving only the fragments behind. On the west side I thought that I could trace the remains of a flight of steps, where the ascent was gentle, and the mass appeared to be solid. The ruin is well known throughout the country as *Chasa-dheri*, or the "Châsa mound."

Close by on the east there is a low mound, only 5½ feet high, which I found to cover a stone plinth 29½ feet long by 25 feet broad. I found only two cut stones, the whole remaining mass being constructed of rough round stones, from which the outer casing of cut stones had been carried off to the town. I made an excavation in the middle, and at a depth of 2½ feet reached the solid ground. I think it probable that this mound may be the remains of a small stûpa about 20 feet in diameter.

The great mound of Châsa has the reputation of containing a great treasure, and the well-known coin-dealer of Râwal Pindi gravely put into my hands a manuscript, detailing minutely how the treasure was to be found. I found that this belief was very widely spread; but none of the believers had the courage to spend any money in making the necessary excavations.

5.—MARI.

On the eastern bank of the Indus, opposite Kâlabâgh, stands the bold and picturesque hill of Kâfir-kot, with the town of Mâri lying at its northern foot. On the opposite bank of the river there is a similar hill of about the same height with the town of Kâlabâgh at its southern foot. There are no traces of any fort on the Mâri Hill, but there are the remains of several temples, which are sufficient to justify the name of Kâfir-kot. One doorway of one of the temples is still standing in good order. The largest temple was an oblong building, 78 by 28 feet, divided into three parts, evidently an entrance hall, a central hall, and a sanctum. The next was 48 feet square. Three others were respectively 14 feet square, 15 by 13 feet, and [illegible] by [illegible] feet. A great fair is held on the top of the hill in the month of Vaisâkh.

The small stream above Kâlabâgh is washed for gold. All the hills are quite bare. The rock is a soft sandstone grit, which wears rapidly, leaving the harder parts standing in fantastic peaks. The two salt hills are generally reddish-brown and grey, with numerous patches of dazzling white, wherever the melted salt has found a way out. The Mâri salt mines, which are dug in the hill, are now closed, as they could not compete with the cheap working of the Kâlabâgh mines, where the salt crops out to the surface. The Mâri salt costs Rs. 7 per hundred maunds, while the Kâlabâgh salt costs but a trifle over Rs. 4, or nearly Rs. 3 less per hundred maunds. No alum is worked to the east of the river

The Indus here is a magnificent stream, about 200 yards broad, running in a single deep channel over small boulders. The town of Kâlabâgh is picturesquely situated on a long low spur of the salt hill, the houses being ranged at different levels immediately overhanging the river.

6.—KAFIR-KOT OF TIL RAJA.

The fort of Til Raja, called Kâfir-kot by the Mussalmans and Devata-kot, or Deokot, by the Hindus, is situated on a projecting spur of the Khisar range of hills overhanging the Indus, just 8 miles below the junction of the Kuram River. Part of the road leading to it along the bank of the Indus has lately been swept away by the flood-waters of the river. The place is now in ruins, and the ascent is rather difficult, the lower part of the road being blocked by numbers of large stones. The fort is oblong, being 400 paces or 1,000 feet from east to west, and 220 paces or 550 feet from north to south. The river-face is precipitous, and has no walls. The south face is altogether in ruins, but several of the towers still remain on the north and west faces. The style of the building is well represented in the accompanying Plate, which is taken from a photograph. In the "Panjâb Gazetteer" the fort is stated to be 2,194 feet above the sea.[1] But this is a mistake, as this height refers to the lofty peak in the Khisar Range and not to the fort, which is not more than 1,000 feet above the sea.

The tradition is thât there were three brothers, named Til, Bil, and Akil, each of whom built a fort and named it after himself Til Raja's kot, or fort, is now generally known simply as Kâfir-kot, but the other two places still preserve

[1] Panjâb Gazetteer, Bannu, p. 3, note.

the names of their reputed founders. Bil Raja's place was called Bil-kot, now Bilot, on the Indus, 25 miles below Kâfir-kot, and Akil's fort was called Akil-kot or Akilot, now Akra in the Bannu Valley. The people believe them to have been Pandus, or even call them Devatas, whence the name of Devata-kot, which is often applied to Kâfir-kot.

There is no water in the fort, which is said to have been supplied by a canal drawn from the Kuram River. The Muhammadans accordingly cut off the water when the place surrendered.

Kâfir-kot has its legend, like many other places of long underground galleries holding untold treasures. One day a man of the Ajri tribe is said to have entered an opening where he found a flight of steps. Going down the steps he came to rooms filled with many valuable things. Selecting a few he turned to go out, but the entrance was closed. On dropping the treasure he saw the entrance open, and on making a second attempt to carry off the treasure the entrance again closed. He then gave up his dream of wealth and returned to his home. According to another version the man became blind the moment he touched the jewels, and recovered his sight on dropping them.

Inside the fort there are the remains of four temples, which I will distinguish by the letters A, B, C, D, and of a dwelling-house of two storeys called Mâri. This was 30 feet long, and the remaining walls have windows in both storeys. The temples are built of stone cemented with lime, which is mixed with large angular fragments of quartz. Although they are all of small size, they are interesting as specimens of the ruder or later style, which succeeded the semi-Greek architecture of the Indo-Scythians. The pilasters have small volutes at the corners of the abacus, but instead of the two tiers of rich acanthus leaves below there are two rows of plain shields. But as the temples would appear to have been plastered both inside and outside, it is probable that these plain capitals were originally covered with deeply moulded acanthus leaves in stucco. In the accompanying Plates I have given plans and views of the only two temples of which some portions of the outer walls are still standing in good order[1] All the entrances face the east towards the river.

Temple A is the only one which has all four walls standing. It is a very small building, being only 6 feet square

[1] See Plates XI and XII.

inside and 13 feet square outside. The lower part is ornamented with pilasters, 5 feet in height, of the kind already described; and in the middle of each face there is a small niche, only 19½ inches high, with sloping sides like the windows of a Greek temple. As the doorway of the temple is of exactly the same design, the sloping jambs may be looked upon as a peculiarity of this style of architecture. The ornamentation of the upper part recalls that of the great temple of Bodh-Gaya, with its rows of beehive-shaped niches and *amalaka* fruits. Inside, the roof is made by overlapping stones forming a hemispherical dome with a flower in the middle. The temple is about 25 feet high in its present state. In its original state I estimate that it may have been about 35 feet in height.

Temple B is 9 feet 11 inches square inside. The walls and doorway are much broken, but the domed roof still remains intact inside. The walls are plain inside.

Temple C was 12 feet square inside, and 21 feet 6 inches square outside; but the eastern and southern walls have fallen down, carrying with them the domed roof, which now form a mound of ruins behind the northern and western walls. A view of the remaining walls is given in the accompanying Plate. The style is the same as that of Temple B, but the niches in the lower part are highly ornamented. On the east side a portion of a perpendicular wall, 6 feet in length, was traced, from which I judge that this temple must have had a portico or projecting entrance.

Temple D is situated in the north-east corner of the fort, on a lofty mound or hillock, from 80 to 100 feet in height. It is 7 feet 10 inches square inside, and 13 feet 3 inches square outside; but the walls are quite plain, and have no pilasters.

7.—RAM-KUND.

About 3½ miles to the north of Kâfir-kot, and 1½ mile to the south of Kûndal, there are two springs of clear water at the foot of the hill, embosomed amongst green date-trees, which were very pleasant to the eye amidst the surrounding desolation. For half a mile to the north of the Kûnd the ground is densely covered with Muhammadan graves. A great mêla is now held at the Kûnd in the month of Phâlgun, and the place is occupied by a Sâdhu named Sital Dâs, who has been there since the British occupation in 1849. At first he was a good deal troubled by some of the Muham-

madans, who wished to expel him, but he resisted, and being a strong resolute man he maintained his position.

From the great numbers of Muhammadan graves near the Kûnd I concluded that the place must once have been the shrine of some holy Musalmân saint, and that the people of all the surrounding villages carried their dead to bury them near the saint. But on enquiry I found that my conjecture was only partly correct, as the collection of graves on the high ground near the foot of the hill was due to the encroachments of the Indus, while their being clustered together so near the Kûnd was due to the vicinity of the shrine of Sultân Bozîd [Bayâzid], an Arab, who settled here many hundred years ago, and is believed to have caused the springs to issue from the hill.

The Indus has entirely deserted the western branch under the Khisar Hills, and the waters of the Kuram River now wash the foot of the Râm-kund Hill. All the villages are mere collections of grass huts, the walls being made of tamarisk hurdles covered with sirkanda mats, and the roofs of coarse thatch. They are constantly liable to be destroyed by the Indus, and their sites are constantly changing; and on this account the dead are all buried on the high grounds at the foot of the hills beyond the reach of the floods. Only one of the dozen villages marked on the Atlas sheet between Isakhel and Mianwâli now retains the position which it held at the time of the survey.

8.—ROKRI.

During the floods in 1868, the Indus made a sweep to the eastward a few miles above Mianwâli, and cut away a part of the old high bank on which stands the small town of Rokri. When the river subsided numbers of plaster figures and concrete mouldings were found at the foot of two concentric circular walls which had been laid bare. The remains were carefully collected by Mr. Priestley, and are now in the Lahor Museum. Since then the Indus has swept away the two circular walls and every trace of the site where the plaster figures were found. All the masses of concrete and all the bricks are said to have been taken away in a boat for some new building at a distance, and I found only one triangular brick where some Buddhist building had once stood.

The only record that has been preserved of the remains is a brief notice in the *Panjâb Government Gazette*, which

merely gives the "circular measurement of the remaining sections" of the two walls, of which the inner one was 25 feet, and the outer one 38 feet. Even the distance between the two walls is not stated. I conclude, however, from the statements of the people that the remaining portions could not have been more than one-third of the circumference, in which case the diameter of the inner circle would have been about 24 feet, and that of the outer circle about 40 feet, leaving a clear space between of 8 feet. As I take the inner wall to represent the base of a stûpa, and the outer wall that of the surrounding circular enclosure, these dimensions may seem rather small. But many of the existing stûpas in other places are even smaller, as for instance at Takhti-i-Bahi, where the dome of the principal stûpa is only 13 feet in diameter, while that at Jamâl-garhi is only 22 feet.

According to Mr. Priestley's account, the portion of the inner wall still standing was only 15 inches in height, while that of the outer was 3 feet high. Outside the outer wall, north and south, there were the remains of two brick pillars, 2 feet 8 inches high, and respectively 2 feet and 2 feet 2 inches in diameter. The two circular walls were "constructed of large brick-shaped blocks of what appeared to be some kind of artificially prepared stone or cement." From the fragments which I saw I take these blocks to have been concrete. Fragments of plaster mouldings were found, showing signs of gilding, but "on the wall being exposed, however, no gilding or other ornamental work was to be observed on its face." This I would explain by the fact that the gilding was generally limited to the sculptures. The whole site was excavated down to the water level, where "the base of the walls was also reached," some 12 feet below the present surface of the adjoining land.

To the east of the Buddhist site there is a very large mound, 1,150 feet long by 1,000 feet broad, with a smaller mound 250 feet long to the north. These mounds have been worked for saltpetre for ages, and they are now entirely covered with small heaps of rubbish, the remains of the workings. In digging wells to supply water for these works, thousands of bricks are found, which prove that the old town of Rokri must have possessed many brick buildings. To the east of the mound, in the open plain, I found an oblong hole, 10 feet deep, from which large numbers of bricks, 18 inches by 12, were dug out. There were four walls enclosing a series of paved rooms of some ancient dwelling.

On searching over the mound and amongst the houses of the town numerous mouldings in kankar and concrete were discovered, as well as many old bricks, some of which were of the large size of 17 by 10 by 3 inches, and 14 by 9 by 2½ inches. All the wells in the town are built of these old bricks with pieces of stône let in here and there. Numbers of rough kankar blocks and several slabs of coarse red sandstone were also found. During the excavations some coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, and Vasu Deva were found. I obtained also a single coin of Kanishka, and three coins of Samanta Deva, all of which serve to show that the site must have been in continued occupation from the time of the Indo-Scythians.

In the Lahore Museum I found no less than 32 pieces of plaster sculptures from Rokri, of which the following brief list may be of use to show that the remains belong to an early period of Buddhism, when the acanthus leaf capitals were still in use:—

Eight heads of Buddha,
Ten heads of laymen,
One large centre of Acanthus capital,
One volute of large capital,
Two dentils; one with vermilion in hollows,
Five lions' heads,
Four small figures, legs and arms gone,
One large breast and arms, half life-size,
One small body,
One four-armed body holding dish.

Amongst the heads of Buddha there is little variety, the features being always calm and dignified with the usual half-closed eyes. One of these is shown in the accompanying Plate.[1]

The specimens of the lay figures are very varied, from a simple head in a scull-cap to the most elaborate arrangement of curls and flowers. Three of these are shown in the accompanying Plate. No. 2, or 298 of the Lahore Museum list, is a singularly fine face, with a very pleasing expression; I think it must be a female head; No. 3 has a tall head-dress, which in the Gândhâra sculptures is peculiar to royalty; No. 4 has a very rich head-dress surmounting rows of rather formal curls. The nose is rather long, thin, and pointed, and the eyes are remarkable for a slight indication of the pupils, which I have not before observed in any other figure. Another head,

[1] See Plate XIV.

No. 168 of Lahore Museum, is covered by a plain conical cap: a second, No. 517 of the Museum, has moustâches, beard, and turban; and a third, No. 510 of the Museum, has the thumb and forefinger placed in the mouth, which, as I have already pointed out, is the common mode in the East of expressing astonishment.[1]

Mr. Priestley in 1868 was informed that some 30 years before "a large brick was found bearing an inscription, which was thus read (or translated) by a learned Brahman of the place—

Sila thápu thapiyán Abdu nám Kumbhár Bdl tilán di pakiyán Sultân Sikandar diwár.

"The brick-maker who cast these bricks was Abdu by name, a kumbhâr; he burnt them with fuel of the mustard plant in the time of Sultân Sikandar."

Now this was a most gross imposition on the part of the Brahman, as the saying is a very common one, and is applied to most forts, which are said to be as strong as the "wall of Alexander."

Thus of the fort of Chinê the Chinapate of Hwen Thsang in which Kanishka kept the Chinese hostages, it is said—

Ese intân pathiyán Lâlu Kumhâre.
Jesi Sháh Sikandari dewâre.

"Like as the bricks made by Lâlu, the potter, such were those of the 'wall of Alexander.'"

So also Minhâj describes the fort of Bilsanda, near Kanauj, to be "as stout as the wall of Alexander."[2]

9.—VAN-BACHRAN.

Fifteen miles to the south-east of Mianwâli, and on the high road leading to Shâhpur from the Kuram Valley, stands the flourishing town of Vân Bachrân. *Vân* means a *baoli*, or well, with a staircase leading down to the level of the water, and is the term used by Baber throughout his commentaries. The people are unanimous in stating that the Vân, or baoli, was made by Akbar, and that the village was established at the same time. But as all the houses stand on a mound, it is clear that the site was an old one.

The well is 19 feet in diameter and 50 feet deep, but is now quite dry The staircase leading down to the water is 179 feet long and 9 feet 9 inches broad, with a pair of tall minârs standing at the head, one on each side, 15 feet apart.

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. X.
[2] Raverty's Translation of the Tabakât-i-Nasiri, p. 680.

These minârs are 25 feet high, the lower half being octagonal, with a side of 2¼ feet, and the upper part conical surmounted by a dome. Close by there is a small masjid, 30 feet 9 inches long by 20 feet 9 inches broad, outside.

The style of the minâr is exactly that of the Mughal period, of which so many specimens still exist between Agra and Lahore The small thin bricks, 6½ by 4¾ by 1 inch, are also certain evidences of the same age.

10.—AMB.

The old town of Amb is situated inside the Salt-range, and quite out of sight from the plains. It is exactly 5 miles due south from the Sakesar Peak, which is 5,010 feet high, and is the loftiest and most remarkable point in the Range. The Dhodha Nala flows between Amb and Sakesar, and almost isolates the flat-topped hill on which stands the old fort of Amb. The town consists of two distinct portions, the upper half being situated on the top of a conical red hill to the south of the fort, and the lower at the foot of the fort hill, about 300 or 400 feet below it in the midst of a wood of green trees with a fine spring of pure water, which alone would have led to the early occupation of this pleasant site in the midst of these salt hills.

The square towers and massive walls of the fort with its tall temple in the middle, backed by the lofty range of hills to the north, form a very striking and pleasing view in the general barrenness. The place must once have been very large, as there are hundreds of empty houses to be seen in all directions.

There are three temples in the fort, one large and two small ones, all more or less ruinous. They are built of blocks of kankar, and must originally have been plastered over. There are no statues now remaining, but I saw one small female figure, 10½ inches in height, of a yellowish grey stone, which was found in the Dhodha Nala, at the foot of the fort, after a landslip had taken place. The temples are attributed to Raja Ambarikh, who is also supposed to have given his name to the town. An inscription on a slab, about 3 feet long and less than 2½ feet broad, is said to have been found in the fort; and I was informed by the present lambardâr that the stone was duly forwarded by his father on a camel to Major Hollings, the Deputy Commissioner, then living at Leia. I made enquiries both at Shâhpur and at Leia regarding this inscription, but it could not be traced. I have no reason, however,

to doubt the lambardâr's story, as he spoke of a matter within his own knowledge. His father, Mian Elâhi Buksh, had received much kindness from Major Hollings, and he sent the stone to him to show his gratitude. Elâhi Buksh and his relatives claimed to have inherited the village from a long line of ancestors, whose tombs are in the garden just below the spring of water. He urged that the place was taken at an early date by the Muhammadans and made a rent-free tenure; that it was now visited by many Fakirs, whom he was obliged to feed, and on that account he claimed the continuance of the *inâm*, which was secured to him through Major Hollings' representations.

The inscription is said to have been read by a Pandit, who said that it recorded the building of Amb by Ambarikha at a date 500 years before the time of Muhammad, or about 100 A.D. But unfortunately for the Pandit's credit this is neither the date of Ambarikha, nor of the temples. The former was one of the early solar heroes, the son of Mândhâtri, and the brother of Purukutsa, who was the author of several hymns of the Rig Veda. The temples are all of the Kashmirian style, but they are almost certainly of late date, as all the arches have cinquefoil instead of trefoil heads, which is the only form in Kashmir. I think therefore that their most probable date is from 800 to 950 A.D., during the rule of the Brahman dynasty of Kabul.

The great temple stands on a platform 93 feet long from east to west by 62 feet broad and 6 feet high. It faces the west, on which side there is a flight of steps. The eastern side, or back of the temple, and part of the north face, are the only parts that still preserve the facing, and from them I was able to trace an outline plan of the temple. To the west the entrance is a complete ruin; but from the length of the platform there can be no doubt that there was an ante-room or entrance hall, similar to that of the two smaller temples. There are three distinct storeys in the building, each possessing a distinct chamber. The lowermost storey is 15 feet square and is covered by a hemispherical dome, the square being first reduced to an octagon by the usual projecting pendentives in the angles. The middle storey is 12 feet square, and the uppermost storey is 9 feet 10 inches square. These are all accessible owing to the ruined state of the walls, which also enabled my servants to clamber to the top, and measure the height. This proved to be 60 feet 8 inches in its present ruined state without any pinnacle. When per-

fect, I judge that it must have been about 70 feet in height, which is very nearly twice the breadth of 36 feet 9 inches.

The style of ornamentation may be best judged by the sketch of the niche on the north side,[1] which is true Kashmirian. The plain *kankar* walls are now completely exposed, the whole of the stucco facing having disappeared excepting in some of the angles. It is probable also that two stone lions have been lost from the capitals of the small pilasters, as they are found in other examples rampant and facing each other.

Inside, the niches are quite plain, the keystone of the corbelled arches being formed in a peculiar fashion, which I have seen in other cut-stone buildings on both banks of the Indus, as well as in India.

The two smaller temples are situated 200 feet to the west of the large temple; and as they are almost exactly of the same size, and were evidently intended to form a pair, being only 8 feet apart, one description will serve for both.

The body of the temple consists of a single room 7 feet 3 inches square inside, with an entrance half of nearly the same size, or 7 feet 3 inches by 6 feet. The doorway is a cinquefoil arch, resting on pilasters 7 feet in height with carved capitals. These small temples were also once covered with stucco, of which nothing now remains except in the sheltered angles. The entrances of both are to the east towards the great temple.

11.—BHERA.

The present town of Bheṛa, or Bheḍa, was founded by Sher Shah in A.H. 947, or A.D. 1540, near the famous shrine of Pîr Kâyanâth, whose descendants now live near his tomb The old town of *Bhera* was on the opposite or western side of the Jhelam River, close to Ahmedâbâd, where there are three large mounds, called collectively Bherâri or *Bherâ dih*, or "the mound of Bherâ." Its original name is said to have been Bhadrâvati Nagari, and is referred to Raja Bhadra Sena, who gave a horse for an *Aswamedha* sacrifice. Of Raja Jobnâth, of whom I had heard so much on a former visit, I could hear little or nothing.[2] One man alone said that *Jognâth*, as he pronounced the name, was the son of Raja Bhadra Sena. The mound stands 1 mile to the north-east of Ahmedâbâd

[1] See Plate XV.

[2] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 180.

and extends about 1½ mile in the same direction, at a distance of about 1 mile from the river. I have already in my former Report stated my suspicion that the name of Jobnâth is only a slightly altered form of Jobnâs, or Yavanaswa, whose Aswamedha horse was carried off by the Pandus from Bhadrâvati.

The oldest certain mention of Bhera is by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who shortly after A.D. 400 crossed the Indus from *Po-na*, or Bannu, into the country called *Pi-cha* or *Pi-da*, on his way to Mathura. He gives no account of the country, but simply states that the law of Buddha was prosperous and flourishing.[1]

Ferishta calls Bhera " one of the ancient cities " of India, and says that Kedar, or Kaid Raja, after conquering the Panjâb, established himself there and reigned for 43 years. According to Ferishta's chronology this happened shortly after the time of Rustam. But as this very *Kaid* is the well-known Gakhar Chief, who also conquered the Panjâb and established himself at Bhera, where he reigned for 43 years, we have a doubtful check on his antiquity in the legendary history of the Gakhars, which places Raja Kaid only twenty-six generations before Mahmud of Ghazni. At 25 years to a generation this would place him 650 years before A.D. 1000, or about A.D. 350. This, however, is not the Gakhar's chronology, as they all agree in the belief that Ked came to India in the time of Afrasiâb. But whatever may be the true date of Kaid Raja, the tradition of his settlement at Bhera is undoubtedly a very old one.

I think it possible that there is a still earlier mention of *Bhera* or *Bheda* in the two classical authors, Virgil and Vibius Sequester. The former calls the Jhelam River " Medus Hydapes," and the latter describes the Hydaspes as flowing past the city of Media.[2] Here I take Medus and *Media* to refer to the old city of *Bheda*, which was situated on the Hydaspes or Jhelam. The interchange between the letters B and M is very common

In the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, Bhera had a ruler of its own, named Biji Rai, who was, however, a dependent of Anand Pâl, the great King of Peshawar and Lahore. As the city was reputed to be wealthy, Mahmud of course made an expedition against it. The campaign is described by Utbi under the name of Bhâtia; which Sir Henry Elliot has conclusively

[1] Beal's Fa Hian, Chap. CXV, p. 51.
[2] " Hydapes Indicæ urbis mediæ defluit Indo ex Concaso."

shown must be Bhera, as the name is variously written as Bahadiya, Bhadiya, &c., while the Raja took refuge in the hills, which he could not have done had the place been near Multân, as some writers have supposed.

According to Utbi, Mahmud—

"marched towards the city of Bhâtia (Bhera or Bheda), the walls of which the wings of an eagle could not surmount, and which was surrounded as by the ocean with a ditch of exceeding depth and breadth. The city was as wealthy as imagination can conceive in property, armies, and military weapons. There were elephants as headstrong as Satan. The ruler at that time was Biji Rai, and the pride which he felt in the state of his preparations induced him to leave the walls of his fort and come forth to oppose the Musalmâns, in order to frighten them with his warriors and elephants and great prowess.

"The Sultân fought against him for three days and nights, and the lightnings of his swords and the meteors of his spears fell on the enemy. On the fourth morning a most furious onslaught was made with swords and arrows, which lasted till noon, when the Sultân ordered a general charge to be made upon the infidels. The friends of God advancing against the masters of lies and idolatry with cries of 'God is exceeding great'! broke their ranks, and rubbed their noses 'upon the ground of disgrace.' The Sultân himself, like a stallion, went on dealing hard blows around him on the right hand and on the left, and cut those who were clothed in mail right in twain, making the thirsty infidels drink the cup of death. In this single charge he took several elephants, which Biji Rai regarded as the chief support of his centre. At last God granted victory to the standards of Islâm, and the infidels retreated behind the walls of their city for protection. The Musalmâns obtained possession of the gates of the city, and employed themselves in filling up the ditch and destroying the scarp and counterscarp, widening the narrow roads, and opening the closed entrances.

"When Biji Rai saw the desperate state to which he was reduced, he escaped by stealth and on foot into the forest with a few attendants, and sought refuge on the top of some hills. The Sultân despatched a select body of troops in pursuit of them, and surrounded them as a collar does the neck; and when Biji Rai saw that there was no chance of escape he drew his dagger, stuck it into his breast, and went to the fire which God has lighted for infidels and those who deny a resurrection, for those who say no prayers, hold no fasts, and tell no beads. Amen."[1]

The next mention of Bhera is in A.H. 618 or A.D. 1221 in the time of Changez Khân, who sent—

Tûrtai with two Tûmâns of Mughals to pursue the Sultân (Jalâl-ud-din) beyond the Sind, which he passed over, and then reached the banks of Bhut (Behat or Jhelam), which is a country of Hindustan, then held by Kamr-ud-din Kirmâni, one of the Sultân's nobles. Tûrtâi conquered that country and took the strong fort of *Bhera*; and after

[1] Utbi's Tarikh Yamini in Elliot's Muhammadan History, Vol. II, pp. 29-30.

ravaging that neighbourhood he went towards Multân, but as there were no stones there he ordered that the population of Bhera should be turned out to make floats of wood, and load them with stones for the Manjaniks. So they floated them down the river, and when they arrived at Multân the Manjaniks were set to work, and threw down many of the ramparts of the fort."[1]

In A.H. 644, or A.D. 1246, in the beginning of the reign of Nâsir-ud-din Mahmud, his minister, Ulugh Khan, led an expedition to the Judh Hills to wreak vengeance on the Rana, who, in the previous year, had acted as a guide to the invading Mughals. The ruler, named *Jas Pâl Sehrâ*, was conquered and his country ravaged from the Jhelam to the Indus.

In A.H. 801, or A.D 1398, Timur crossed the Indus and entered the desert country skirting the foot of the Salt-range. Here he was waited upon by "the Princes and Rajas of the mountainous country of Judh" with presents, who were favourably received, as they had previously tendered their submission to Prince Rustam.[2]

On Baber's first invasion of India, in A.H. 925, or A.D 1519, he confined his operations to an attack on Bhera. Crossing the Indus at Nilâb, he made a rapid march *viâ* the Sangdaki Pass and Kalar Kahâr to Bhera, where he encamped on the bank of the river to the *east* of the town.[3] The next day he levied a ransom of 400,000 Shah Rûkhis, or less than 2 lakhs of rupees. He remained one day in the fort of Bhera, which he says was called *Jahân-nûma*, and there he received submission of the neighbouring town of Khushâb.

From Baber's statement that the river was to the east of the town, it is clear that in his time Bhera was on the west bank of the Jhelam. This is placed beyond all doubt by his subsequent mention that he afterwards "marched and encamped on the *rising grounds* which skirt along Bhera towards the north." On the west bank there is a long stretch of rising ground towards the north, while on the east bank the country is uniformly level and low.

When Humâyun was driven from India in A.H. 947, or A.D. 1540, by Sher Shah, he was pursued by Khawâs Khan to the banks of the Jhelam, where his brother Kâmrân deserted him, and fled through the Judh Hills to Kâbul. Humâyun then turned towards Multân[4]; "Sher Shah delayed

[1] Tarikh-i-Jhân Kusha, in Elliot's Muhammadan History, Vol. II, p. 391.
[2] Timur's Memoirs in Elliot's Muhammadan History, Vol. III, pp. 410 and 482 in zafarnâma.
[3] Baber's Commentaries, by Leydan and Erskine.
[4] Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi, in Elliot's Muhammadan History, Vol. IV, pp. 387-388.

some time at Khushâb," and it was during this halt that he must have founded the new town of Bhera, on the eastern bank of the river. Sher Shah afterwards marched through the hills of *Padmân* and *Garjhâk* for the purpose of selecting a fitting site for a fort to keep the Gakhars in check. It was then that he chose the position of Rohtas, the building of which was begun in the same year A.H. 947, or A.D. 1540; and as this is the date of Sher Shah's mosque near the present town of Bhera, I have no doubt that the new town was founded during the king's halt at Khushâb. The masjid is 114 feet long and 59½ feet broad, with three front openings and three domes. It is quite plain; but its present plain appearance is of late date, as the Sikhs are accused of having fired cannon at it, which left only a portion of one dome, and some parts of the walls, standing. The firing of cannon is, however, denied by the Sikhs, and the former ruinous state of the masjid is attributed to the usual ravages of time, and the entire want of repairs.

During Akbar's reign Bhera possessed a mint for copper coinage, but I do not recollect ever having seen any of his coins with this name. But the names of the mints are so rarely given upon his copper coins that the non-appearance of the name of Bhera is of no importance against the positive testimony of Abul-Fazl.[1]

In A.D. 1757, Bhera, Miâni, and Chaksâni were sacked by Nur-ud-din, the General of Ahmed Shah Abdali. The two former have recovered long ago, but Chaksâni was soon deserted, and is now only a desolate mound in the desert, 10 miles to the east of Shâhpur. This is not a solitary instance of the ravages to which a border country is subject, as there are no less than 270 of these deserted village mounds in the *bâr* or Doâb of the Shâhpur district alone.

In 1868 the population of Bhera, according to the census, amounted to 14,500, but the place is said to have increased since then, and may now hold 16,000 persons.

Near the present town of Bhera there is a famous shrine of Pir Kayanâth, or Guru Kayanâth, who is said to have been the son of Pir Ratannâth, whose shrine is at Jalâlâbâd. His legend is as follows. About 2,100 years ago, Ratannâth made a pilgrimage to the sources of Godâvari River, where several thousands of Siddhs, or holy men, were assembled. At the distribution of food he demanded a double share, to which

[1] Blochmanns' Ain-i-Akbari, p. 31.

all the holy men naturally objected. Ratannâth then made an image of a child by rubbing his hand on his body, and then gave it life, after which the figure became known as *Bâbâ Kayanâth*, or the "body-made child." This mysterious child grew and eventually succeeded to more than the reputation of his creative father. Two yearly mêlas are held at his shrine, one at the full moon of the month of Mâgh, the other on the Siva-râtri. Both Hindus and Musalmâns attend from all parts, from Multan and Lahore, from Peshawar and Jalâlâbâd, and even from Kabul. All the Government officials, it is said, particularly reverence this shrine.

The shrine itself, close outside the town, is just like a very common Muhammadan tomb, with a single dome and one small door. There are several lingams under a tree close by. According to the Jogi at the shrine at Sabz-pind or Vijjhi, Ratannâth was a disciple of Gorakhnâth, Raja of Nepâl. The mound at Sabz-pind is said to have been turned upside down by him; and his feet are now worshipped there.

The present Jogi of Kayanâth's shrine, named Lahernath, or, as the people express it, the present occupant of his *gadi* or throne is apparently in very comfortable circumstances. He wears a choga embroidered with gold, a gold necklace set with stones, and several other pieces of finery. I may mention that some Muhammadans on approaching him touched his feet, and after several *salâms* addressed him as *Bâdshahon-ka-bâdshâh*, *Piron-ka-pir*, &c., or "king of kings, holiest of saints," &c. He is quite as much respected by Musulmâns as by Hindus, and numbers of Muhammadans come to make offerings at his shrine.

12.—VIJHI, OR SABZ-PIND.

Seven miles to the north-east of Bhera, and 30 miles from Shâhpur, there is a lofty mound of ruins close to the village of Vijhi, called Sabz-pind, or the "green mound." It is also called Lâl-pind, or the "red mound." The first name is derived from the green caper bushes which grow all over it, and the second name from the quantity of broken pottery which covers it. Vijhi is the name of one of the villages.

The mound of Sabz-pind is just one quarter of a mile in length by one-eighth of a mile in breadth at top, and a quarter of a mile more each way at base, with a large extension to the east. Roughly it may be said to be three-quarters of a mile long by half a mile at its greatest breadth.

The higher part, which rises to 49 feet 4 inches, I take to be the remains of a lofty fort, while the low mounds all round the outside are the remains of a city.

On the western edge of the high mounds there are five tombs of *naogaja*, or "giant martyrs," all of which are made of earth with a pile of bricks at the head of each. There has clearly been an attempt to make their size agree with their names, as they measure respectively 29, 31, 30, 30, 38 feet. Taking the *hâth* or cubit at 19½ inches, the *naogaja*, or "nine-yarder," would be 3¼ feet × 9 feet = 29 feet 3 inches in length There is a sixth *naogaja* on the low mound to the east.

When the present Jogi was digging the foundations of his house a small image of Mahesasuri Devi, 9 inches in height, was found. She has four arms, holding as usual a sword and trident, as well as the head of the decapitated buffalo. The discovery of this figure shows that there must at least have been one Brahmanical temple, which was no doubt built during the flourishing period of the Brahman dynasty. I obtained only two coins, one of the Indo-Scythian Bazo Deo or Vasu Deva, and the other of Venka Deva, the last of the little Yuchi, or later Indo-Scythian Princes. The place must therefore have been in existence at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era.

13.—JHELAM.

The great mound at Jhelam has been described by both General Court and General Abbott; but the extensive diggings for the Railway have brought to light a number of fresh objects, some of which are of considerable interest. The yield, however, has not been so great as might have been expected, and I conclude that the mound has been grubbed up for centuries to furnish materials for the buildings in the town of Jhelam. For all the objects which I am about to describe I am indebted to the liberality of my kind friend, Mr. A Grant, who was the Director of the Northern State Railway.

The relics are of two distinct kinds, in metal and in stone The former are the most ancient and probably date as far back as the time of the Greeks; the latter belong most probably to the flourishing period of the Kashmirian rule, to which period most of the existing temples would appear to belong.

The objects in metal consist of three iron tripods and two brass bowls. The tripods are of Greek form, with a circular ring at the top, from 5½ to 6 inches in diameter. Each leg projects at first about an inch from the ring in the shape of the letter S placed sideways. The legs then turn gently inwards and again rapidly outwards until they are 10 inches apart, below which they finish in clump feet, something like camel's hoofs. The whole height varies from 14 to 14½ inches. I have portions of the legs of bronze tripods of similar form, which are still in good condition, but the three iron tripods just described are very much corroded, and are now only held together by thick wires.

The brass bowls are quite plain. The larger one is 11 inches in diameter and 3 inches deep; the other is 10 inches in diameter and 5 inches deep.

The stone remains consist of one complete pillar without capital, and of twenty-three bases of pillars of the same style of mouldings, with only slight variations in the uppermost band, and in their relative heights.

I have selected nine specimens, of the bases of which sketches are given in the accompanying Plate, along with the single pillar. It is unfortunate that not a single capital has been found, as this is generally the most characteristic part of the column. This shaft, however, belongs to a very peculiar style, of which some fine specimens have been found at Garhwâ and Deogarh in Bundelkhand. In all of these the lower half of the shaft is square and plain, with a few bands of ornament just above, surmounted by a half-lotus flower The shaft then becomes octagonal, then sixteen-sided with fluted faces, above which is a circular band of leaves surmounted by a square block, of which the lower half is highly ornamented with a fluted kumbha, or water-vessel, with florited turn-overs at the corner, while the upper half is quite plain. As all of these peculiarities are characteristics of the later Gupta style, I do not think that this pillar can be dated later than from A.D. 600 to 800.

The base consists uniformly of three portions, the uppermost being generally angular, the middle one round, and the lowermost square; all are quite plain: but there is such a general likeness in their outlines that I think it highly probable that they may have belonged to a single temple. The chief differences are in the upper member. In A this is quite straight and perpendicular. In the base of the standing pillar it is sloped inwards. In some it is divided into two parts,

of which the upper half is sloping, as in B, while in C it is the lower half that is sloping. In D and E both halves are sloped, forming an acute angle, while D has the upper edge of the square base rounded. In F the upper member is divided into three parts, of which the middle one is perpendicular. In G and H the upper member is rounded, the former having the smaller moulding below, and the latter above. In J the upper moulding is a very acute angle of much smaller diameter than the other members of the base.

The door jamb from Jhelam, published by General Abbott, must, I think, have belonged to the same temple.[1]

14.—SOHDARA.

For several centuries before and after the Muhammadan conquest of India, the chief passage of the Chinab River was at Sohdara, 5 miles above Vazirabâd. But as the river gradually worked more to the westward, the old crossing was deserted, and a new ghât was established lower down opposite the present town of Vazirabâd. The old town, however, still contains a large number of brick houses standing on an extensive mound, which is a certain proof of its antiquity. Its name is variously derived; the Brahmans, of course, being in favour of *Siva-dara*, or *Seo-dara*, while the mass of unlearned people refer it to *Sohda Raja*, the Chief of the *Sohdis*, who, they say, is the same as the famous *Hodî* or *Hudi Raja*, the antagonist of Rasâlu, the son of Salivâhan. Raja Hudi is also said to have been a Gakhar, who fought successfully with Salivâhan and obtained his daughter Sâran as his wife. Raja Hudi afterwards seduced Kokila, the wife of Rasâlu, and by her became the father of Teü, Gheü, and Seü, the acknowledged progenitors of the Tewâni, Ghebi, and Syâl tribes.

Sohdara is described by Abul Fazl as possessing "a high brick minâr." This has now disappeared altogether, but it was still standing in tolerable preservation at the beginning of this century. During the Sikh rule a portion of the minâr gave way, and in 1864 the whole fell down, killing a poor woman, and became a complete ruin. In 1868 or 1869 the brick ruins were sold by auction for Rs. 100 to a Nyâriya named Zulfikar, who built a house with the materials. I saw the house and measured many of the bricks, which were 11 inches square and 2½ inches thick. The

[1] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XVI Plate 24.

foundation was entirely excavated to the water level, and at the bottom, lying in the water, there was found a terra-cotta figure of Ganesa. This was sent to the Tahsildar of Vazirabâd, where it is said to have been placed in the temple of Ganesa.

The minâr had eight sides, and stood upon a square foundation. I visited the site and the people pointed out the size of the building, which was still traceable by a depression in the ground, from which the bricks had been dug out only a few years ago. The foundation was about 32 feet square, and the octagonal minâr about 24 or 25 feet in diameter, with walls 4 feet thick. Its height is variously said to have been 50 *gaz*, or 60 *hâths*, or more. It must, therefore, have been at least 100 feet. It had a winding staircase leading to the top, and was most probably a *mâzina* or minâr attached to a masjid for the use of the muazzin to call the faithful to prayer. It was five storeys in height, with small openings or windows to give light. These openings were filled with brick trelliswork, each trellis being formed of four bricks 9½ inches square, and 2½ inches thick. I found one of these trellis bricks, which was pierced with a very light and graceful tracery.

According to the people, this tower was called the Pir Minâr, and was built by Malik Ayâz, a favourite slave who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to India, and whose sister Mahmud married.[1] It seems probable that Sohdara may have formed the jâgir of Ayâz.

In later times Ali Mardân Khan had a house at Sohdara, and the town was then named Ibrâhimabâd after his son Ibrahim.

15.—SIALKOT.

The ancient city of Siâlkot is situated on the north or right bank of the little River Ayak, 25 miles to the east of Vazirabâd. It is upwards of a mile in length from east to west, and just half a mile in breadth from north to south. On the north side stands the citadel, on a mound 700 feet square, which rises to a height of 49 feet above the streets of the city. It is now entirely ruined, excepting one tower, which is 10 feet higher than the level of the fort. The city itself is on high ground, and on the south side near the bridge rises to 46 feet in height. This point is called *Tilla*, or the mound.

[1] See Jami-ul-Hikâyât, in H. M. Elliot's Muhammadan History, Vol. II, p. 183.

The Ayak River is 150 feet broad with steep banks. The bridge was originally built by Shah Daulah of Gujarât with seven small pointed arches of 9½ feet span, and with piers nearly as many feet thick. At the time of the British occupation it was much dilapidated, and the Engineer, when repairing it, took the opportunity of increasing the waterway by removing three of the piers, and throwing three large elliptical arches of 27 feet 3 inches span over the openings. The old waterway was only 66½ feet; it is now 91½ feet.

The foundation of Siâlkot is attributed by the Brahmans to Raja Sal, or Salya, of the Mahâbhârata, after whom it was named *Sâlyakot*, which was gradually changed to Syâlkot or Siâlkot. The popular attribution, however, is to *Sâlbân*, who is identified with the famous Sâlivâhan. This story is universally believed and has been published by General Abbott from a Persian manuscript, giving an account of the city and its old rulers.[1] In this record Sâlivâhan is succeeded by his son Rasâlu, who is followed by Raja Hodi. This agrees with the generally accepted legend of Raja Hodi, who was the antagonist of both Sâlivâhan and Rasâlu. And if there is any truth in the story that Hodi was the father of Seyü, the progenitor of the Syâls, then Seyü himself must have been the founder of Syâlkot. If the mound on which the fort stands was less lofty, I should be inclined to assign the foundation to Syalapati Deva, the Brahman King of Kabul, about A.D. 800. But the great height of the fort, as well as of the city, points to a much earlier date long before the Christian era. The coins that are found there give the same evidence, as I obtained specimens of the Greek Kings Philoxenes, Apollodotus, Diomedes, and Zoilus; and I know that the coins of other Greek Princes are found there in considerable numbers. I think, therefore, that Raja Salya has a much better claim to be the founder of the place than the too ubiquitous Sâlivâhana.

The fort was rebuilt by Muhàmmad bin Sâm after its capture from Khusru Malik in A.H. 580 or A.D. 1184. On Muhammad's return to Ghazni the place was besieged by Khusru; but he was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Lahore in A.H. 581.

An intelligent Brahman named Hirânand informed me that the place was originally called *Sâkala*, which was situated on the *Ayaka* River, and was the capital of Bâhlka-desa.

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. XVIII, p. 177.

This information he obtained from the Mahâbhârata, but he was not aware that the Sâkala ot the Hindus must have been on a hill, as it was the same place as the Sângala that was besieged by Alexander. I referred him also to the name of the river, which is usually written *Apagâ*, but he replied that both forms were found in the manuscripts—*Ayakâ* as well as *Apagâ*. He knew that Sâkala was the capital of Aratta-desa, but, strange to say, he had never heard of Madra-desa.

In my account of Sângala I have long ago identified the Ayak River with the Apagâ.[1] It is now dry, but its old course is quite traceable, and is laid down in the Revenue Survey maps. "After passing Syâlkot the Ayak runs westerly near Sohdara, where, in the rainy season, it throws off its superfluous water into the Chenab. It then turns to the south-south-west past Banka and Nandanwâ to Bhutâla, and continues this same course till within a few miles of Asarur. There it divides into two branches, which, after passing to the east and west of Asarur, rejoin at 2½ miles to the south of Sângalawâla Tiba. Its course is marked in the Revenue Survey maps for 15 miles to the south-west of Sângala, where it is called the Nananwâ Canal. An intelligent man of Asarur informed me that he has seen the bed of the Nananwâ, 20 *kos* to the south-west, and that he had always heard that it fell into the Râvi a long way off. This then must be Arrian's "small rivulet," near which Alexander pitched his camp, at 100 stadia, or 11½ miles to the east of the Akesines, below its junction with the Hydaspes. At that time, therefore, the water of the Ayak must have flowed for a long distance below Sângala, and most probably fell into the Ravi, as stated by my informant. Near Asarur and Sângala, the Ayak is now quite dry at all seasons, but there must have been water in it at Dhakawala, only 24 miles above Asarur, even so late as the reign of Shah Jahân, when his son Dara Shekoh drew a canal from that place to his hunting-seat at Shekohpura, which is also called the Ayak or Jhilri Canal."

16.—PARSARUR.

Parsarur is an old town, 20 miles to the south-east of Siâlkot. Its foundation is, of course, attributed to Parasurâma, after whom it was named Parasurâmapura. It stands on a mound, and once possessed a fort or citadel, the remains of

[1] See Archæological Survey, Vol. II, pp. 196 and 197

which have only disappeared since the British occupation. In the Gazetteer[1] its foundation is attributed to the time of Humâyun, but it was besieged by the famous Jalâl-ud-din of Khwarazm some 300 years before the time of the Mughal Emperor. During the seige Jalâl-ud-din was wounded in the head, and when the place was captured the whole garrison was put to the sword.[2] As it was visited by Baber on his way from Siâlkot to Kâlanor and Kânhawân in A.H. 932, or A.D. 1525, it is quite impossible that it could have been deserted when Humâyun ascended the throne.

At Parsarur I obtained coins of the Greek kings Apollodotus and Zoïlus, and of the Indo-Scythians Azas, Wema Kadphises, Hoverki, and Bazo Deo, as well as specimens of the early Rajas of Kashmir and of the Brahman Kings of Kabul. Its early occupation is therefore certain, and its continued existence is shown by the almost unbroken series of coins, both Hindu and Muhammadan, which are found on the site.

17.—NARASINHA, OR RANSI

In a former report I have given a short notice of Ransi for the purpose of identifying it with Hwen Thsang's Narasinha. I had only passed by the place before; I have now visited and made a survey of the ruined mound.[3] On leaving Sakala (the Sângala of Alexander's Historians, and the Sângalawâla Tiba of the present day), the pilgrim travelled eastwards through *Na-lo-seng-ho*, or Narasinha, and past a great city, which can only have been Lahor, to Chinapati, a distance of 500 *li*, or nearly 83 miles. Between Sângalawâla and Lahor, close to the village of Ransi, there is a great mound of ruins, which I feel confident represents the ancient town of Narasinha. It is 9 miles to the south of Shekohpura, and 25 miles to the east-south-east of Asarur, and about the same distance to the west of Lahor. As *Ran* and *Nar* are constantly interchanged in Indian names, as in *Ranod* and *Narod*, near Gwalior, so *Ransi* is only a well-known form of *Nar-si*, or *Narasinha*. The place was probably of some consequence in early days, as I find the *Narasinhavanas* are placed by Varâha Mihira in the north-western division of India along with other Punjab peoples.[4]

[1] Gazetteer of the Siâlkot District, p. 58.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dawson, Vol. II, p. 397.
[3] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 202.
[4] See Kern's Translation.

The mound of Ransi was originally a small fort, upwards of 150 feet square, surrounded by a broad ditch, which is now nearly filled up. In the middle there was a keep or square castle, 25 feet in height To the north was the town, which is now represented by a low mound, 1,750 feet in length, thickly covered with broken bricks and pottery; beyond which there is a high mound with the tomb of a *Naogaja* named Hâdi Harmâyan, 42 feet in length, and a number of Muhammadan graves. Altogether the ruins extend for half a mile from north to south, with a breadth of one quarter of a mile in the broadest part. On the fort mound there is the tomb of a second *Naogaja*, but this is only 20½ feet long.

A pot full of large copper coins was found a few years ago in the ruins, which from their description must have been the well-known money of the Indo-Scythian kings Wema Kadphises and Kanerki. The whole were sold for Rs. 7, which sum, at the rate of 12 annas per *ser*, would represent some nine *sers* in weight, or about 500 coins of the large Indo-Scythian kinds. I obtained only six small copper coins of Gondophares. Gold beads are also said to be found occasionally.

Near the village, on the south-east, there is a low mound covered with graves, amidst which stands the very holy shrine of Shah Abdâl. The shrine is now in a ruinous state, and amongst the loose bricks was found one inscribed with his name, which must once have been inserted over the doorway. The old bricks used in this tomb, all of which were brought from the fort mound, are 11⅛ inches. square by 3½ inches thick. They are all curiously marked by one, two, or three finger strokes, forming semicircles, which must have been made while the bricks were still soft. A few have the finger marks quite straight, but they also preserve the same distinctions of one, two, or three finger marks, which probably denoted the work of three different potters.

All the wells in the village, and all the tombs, have been built with bricks from the fort mound, which seems to furnish an almost inexhaustible supply, as I saw several trenches from which the walls of houses had been freshly dug out. I conclude, therefore, that the mound must have been at least 40 feet high originally

18.—THE BAGH-BACHA MOUNDS.

I have grouped these mounds together, because the story connected with each forms part of the one well known legend of the "Seven Tiger-cubs' and the hero Raja Rasâlu.

This curious legend is well known all over the Northern Panjab, from Peshâwar to the banks of the Jumna I have found it in two distinct forms, in one of which the opponents of the hero are all human beings, while in the other they are all Râkshasas, or demons. In the first, the seven enemies are the three brother Rajas, *Sirkap*, *Sirsukh*, and *Amba*, with their four sisters *Kâpi*, *Kalpi*, *Munda*, and *Mandehi* Sirkap is addicted to gambling, and his stakes are human heads which he invariably wins, until opposed by Rasâlu. This addiction to human flesh connects Sirkap and his brethren both with the tiger-cubs of the earlier Buddhist legend and with the Râkshasas of the later one But this connection is shown, perhaps even more plainly, in the name of the *Bâgh-bachha*, or "tiger-cubs" river, which flows past the seven ruined towns of *Sirkap* and his brothers and sisters. The ruins of these seven places, which are still called by their own names, although they are better known by the general name of *Amba-kâpi*, are clustered together near the bank of the *Bâgh-bachha* River, about 25 miles to the west of Lahor, and 10 miles to the south of Shekohpura. The general name of Amba-kâpi is perhaps as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town, named *Amakatis* or *Amakapis*, as I propose to read it, to the west of the Hydraotes, almost in the very position occupied by these ruins. If this identification is admitted, then the names of the three brothers and their four sisters must be as old as the second century, and they would therefore, most probably, be the Buddhist designations of the seven tiger-cubs. That this was the case seems to me almost certain, as the seven names that have been handed down, without any variation whatever, are all descriptive epithets characteristic of hunger. Thus *kap* means the 'trembling;' *sukh*, the 'emaciated;' *ama*, the 'raw;' *kapi* is the feminine of *kap*; *kalpi* is 'doubtful;' *munda* means the hairless or 'mangy;' and *madiya*, the 'lean.' Similarly, the names of the man-eating Râkshasas are descriptive of their propensities. Thus *bera* means the 'vengeful;' *chandia*, the 'furious;' *tera*, the 'roarer;' and *pikun* or *pisun*, the 'cruel.'

In accepting these names as characteristic epithets for the seven hungry tiger-cubs, I infer that the Buddhists had represented in a material form, both by sculpture and painting, the ideal story of the "body-offering" illustrative of Buddha's tenderness and compassion. As sculptured realities, the forms of the seven starving tiger-cubs would have attracted the special notice of pilgrims and their names would soon have

become familiar to the people. For these reasons, I think that the legend of Sirkap and his brothers and sisters may be as old as the beginning of the Christian era.

The scene of this legend is placed by Hwen Thsang at 200 *li*, or nearly 34 miles to the south-east of Taxila, which is the exact bearing and distance of Mânikyâla from the ruined city near Shah-dheri. Fa Hian simply states that this place was to the east of Taxila; but Sung-gun makes it three days' journey to the south-east, which agrees exactly with the 33⅓ miles of Hwen Thsang. These concurring statements enable us to correct an error in the travels of Hwen Thsang, which place the scene of the "body-offering" across the River *Sin-tu*, or Indus, instead of across the River *Suhân*, which runs between Taxila and Mânikyâla. Unfortunately the place is not named by any one of the Chinese pilgrims, but its position is so clearly marked by their concurring bearings and distances as to leave no doubt of its identity with Mânikyâla. Here then, we must look for the famous *stûpa* of the "body-offering" of Buddha, which was one of the four great topes of North-west India. This I believe to have been the great *stûpa* which was successfully explored by General Court. The *Huta-murta* or "body-offering" is twice mentioned in the inscription that was found covering the deposit.

"In comparing this Buddhist tradition with the legend of Rasâlu, the points of resemblance are sufficiently striking and obvious. For the compassionate Buddha, who had left his wife Yasodharâ, we have the equally compassionate Rasâlu, who had given up the society of his queen Kokilâ. As Buddha offers his body to appease the hunger of the seven starving tiger-cubs, so Rasâlu offers himself instead of the woman's only son, who was destined to appease the hunger of the seven Râkshasas."

The original scene of this legend must have been at Mânikyâla, as it is so intimately connected with Buddha's offering his body to appease the hunger of the seven starving tiger-cubs. But the names have been carried to Taxila on the west and to the neighbourhood of Shekohpura on the east. At Taxila there are the two forts of Sirkap and Sirsukh, as well as the stûpa at the village of Balar, on which Sirkap used to sit. But near Shekohpura we have the whole nomenclature complete, beginning with the Bâgh-bacha Nala, or river of the tiger-cubs, close to which all the other names are found. There is—(1) the village of Balar with the fort of Sirkap; (2) the fort of Sirsukh; (3) the village and fort of Amba close to Ransi; and (lastly) the villages of

Kapi, Kalpi, Munda, and Mandehi, all of which are shown in the map.[1]

1.—SIR-KAP AND BALAR.

Four miles to the north-north-east of Ransi, and 6 miles to the south of Shekohpura, there is an ancient ruined fort named Sir-kap, close to the village of Balar. The mound is 500 feet square inside the ramparts, and 20 feet high. Outside it is about 900 feet square, and is entirely surrounded by water, except at a narrow entrance on the east side where there is a paved brick causeway. The whole of this large space is entirely covered with broken bricks and ruined walls. This fort is said to have been the residence of Raja Sir-kap, who used to play at *chaupar*, the loser's head being the stake. He was always successful, and invariably exacted the penalty from the loser. At last he was beaten by Raja Rasâlu, to whom he gave his daughter Kokilâ in marriage to save his head.

2.—SIR-SUKH.

Three miles to the north-north-east of Balar is the small village with the mound of Sir-sukh. The mound is about 400 feet square at top and 600 feet square at base, with a general height of from 16 to 20 feet. It has once been entirely covered with Muhammadan tombs, of which several still remain, but the greater number have disappeared and are now only traceable by the countless numbers of chiraghs, both whole and broken, which are thickly strewn all over the mound. No whole bricks could be found, but three fragments of human figures in terra-cotta were discovered, one of them being the knee of a seated figure.

3.—AMBA.

The mound of Amba stands 1 mile to the east of Ransi, and 9 miles to the south of Shekohpura. This place has already been described in one of my early Reports as follows :—

"The mound of Amba is 900 feet square, and from 25 to 30 feet in height; but as the whole of the surrounding fields, for a breadth of about 600 feet, are covered with broken pottery, the full extent of the ancient town may be taken at not less than 8,000 feet, or upwards of 3 miles in circuit. The mound itself is covered with broken bricks of large size, amongst which I discovered several pieces of

[1] See Plate XVII.

carved brick. I found also one piece of grey sandstone, and a piece of speckled iron ore, similar to that of Sangala, and of the Karana Hills. According to the statements of the people, the place was founded by Raja Amba 1800 or 1900 years ago, or just about the beginning of the Christian era."

4.—KAPI OR KALPI.

Kâpi is a large village on the top of a mound, 2½ miles to the east of Amba. It was the residence of the sister named Kâpi.

5.—KALPI.

Kalpi is a small mound near the village of Bhuipur, about half-way between Sir-kap and Amba. It was the residence of the sister named Kalpi.

6.—MUNDE.

Munde is a village with a ruined mound on the right bank of the Deg River, 8 miles to the south of Ransi and Amba. It belonged to the sister named Munde.

7.—MANDEHI.

Mândehi is a ruined mound and village 3½ miles to the south-east and 4 miles to the south of Kapi. It took its name from the fourth sister, Mandehi.

A glance at the map will show that the two places, named Amba and Kapi, are both on the high road leading from Sângala to Lahor. Their names are commonly joined together as Amba-Kâpi, and it was in this form that I first heard of them more than 100 miles distant This junction of the two names at once brought to mind the Amakatis, or Amakapis of Ptolemy, which he places to the west of the Ravi, and not far from Labokla or Lahor. If this identification is correct, as I believe it to be, then the age of both of these places, and of all the others connected with them in the legend, must date as high as the beginning of the Christian era. Now Raja Rasâlu is universally believed to have been the son of the famous Sâlivâhân, which would place him at the end of the first century A.D. The same date is declared by the discovery of coins of the Indo-Scythian Princes on all these sites.

The fort of Rasâlu himself is said to have been at Nandkâna, a large village with a lofty mound 18 miles to the south-west of Ransi.

Another antagonist of Rasâlu and his father Sâlivâhân was Raja Hudi or Hodi, whose name is known all over the Northern Panjâb Hudi, who is said to have been a Gakhar, conquered Sâlivâhân and obtained his daughter Sâran as his wife. Afterwards he seduced Kokila, the wife of Rasâlu, and by her became the father of Teü, Gheü, and Seu, who were the progenitors of the present tribes of Tewâni, Ghebi, and Syâl. Hudi's residence was at Hudiâl, a village with a ruined fort and mound on the west bank of the Bâgh-bachha River, 8 miles to the east of Shekohpura, and the same distance to the north-east of Sir-kap.

As an enemy of Rasâlu Raja Hudi should have been a friend of Sir-kap, but their names are never connected in any of the stories that I have heard. The fort of Khairâbad on the Indus, opposite Attak, is attributed to Raja Hudi, and I have a suspicion that all the Udinagaras may owe their name to him.

The channels of the Deg and Bâgh-bachha Rivers between Shekohpura and Lahor are only old beds of the Râvi, which at one time even took a much more westerly course by Shekohpura, Aga, Bhikhi, and Buga, all lofty mounds of ruins, to Nandkâna and the traditional residence of Rasâlu. The coins found at these places show that they were flourishing as late as the period of Indo-Scythian rule, which is the presumed age of these Bâgh-bachha legends.

19.—CHINE, OR CHINAPATI.

On leaving the ancient kingdom of Sâkala, the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang travelled 500 *li*, upwards of 83 miles, to the east, past the town of Narasinha or Ransi, and a large city (which can only have been Lahor) to the town of *Chi-na-poti*, which was the winter residence of the Chinese hostages in the time of Kanishka.[1] These hostages were sent by some tributary chiefs who lived to the west of the Yellow River. When Kanishka obtained these hostages he heaped favours upon them and assigned them different places of residence in each of the three seasons of the year, the hot weather, the rains, and the cold weather. *Chi-na-poti* was their winter quarters, and received its name from being their residence.

M. Julien gives *Chinâpati* as the equivalent of this name; but I rather think that it must be intended to represent *Chine-*

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, Vol. II, p 199

bandhak, or *bandha*, the "Chinese hostages." I am strengthened in this opinion by the fact that Mirza Mughal Beg gives the name of the place on the road from Amritsar to Parsarur, as "*Chiniyari*, which is also called Alexander's mound."[1] This last fact identifies the place with my Chinê, which is exactly 11 miles from Amritsar, on the high road to Parsarur and Syâlkot, and 82 miles from Sângalawâla-tiba by the road *viâ* Lahor. The two places being the same it seems probable that the name of *Chiniyari* must be interpreted as the "Chinese foes," from *ari*, an "enemy." As the position of Chinê, or Chiniyari, agrees most exactly with that of *Chinâpati*, as laid down by Hwen Thsang, I have no doubt as to the correctness of this identification.

There are three villages, respectively named Unchakila, Bichlakila, and Shahbâzpur, which are collectively called Chinê, and this name is well known all over the district But the great mound of Unchakila, or the "high fort," is also called *Chine-ka-theh*, and apparently Chinê was the true old name, the present name of *Theh* having come into use only since the fort was deserted. I made a survey of the place, and found the central mound to be 400 feet square and from 46½ to 50 feet in height. This was the castle or keep, at the foot of which, on the north and north-east, there is a much lower mound of about double the size, the whole site being very nearly surrounded by water. The mound, both high and low, is thickly covered with bricks of large size, 12½ × 8½ × 2½ inches. I found also one broken brick with a deeply cut ornament.

At Chinâpati the pilgrim was lodged in the *Dusâsana* monastery, in which a very eminent Buddhist author, named Venîta-prabha, was then living. Here therefore Hwen Thsang remained for fourteen months for the purpose of studying the *Abhidharma Sâstra*.

The pilgrim notes that before Kanishka's time there were neither pears nor peaches in India. Both fruits were then introduced by the Chinese hostages, the peach being named *chinani*, and the pear *chinaraja-putra*. There are neither pears nor peaches of any kind now at Chinê, but there can be no doubt of the introduction of the China peach, as the poor flat-shaped sweet kind of peach is still known in the north-west as the Chinese peach. But both fruits grow wild in the hills, only 150 miles from Chinê; and in Kashmir they are both of excellent quality, the Indian peach being far superior both in juiciness and in flavour to the China peach.

[1] Manuscript map prepared by Wilford from Mughal Beg's Survey.

20.—SULTANPUR, OR TAMASAVANA.

The old town of Sultânpur, called Dallâ Sultânpur to distinguish it from the numerous other places of the same name, is one of the largest towns in the Jâlandhar Doab The people say—and their statement is confirmed by Erskine[1]—that it was built by Daulat Khân Lodi; but the great mound on which the Bâdshâhi serai now stands, and the numerous ancient coins found there, prove beyond all doubt that the site must have been occupied at a very early date. The Muhammadan town of Sultânpur was most probably built by Daulat Khân Lodi, when he was Governor of Lahor during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi, and he must therefore also have been the founder of the fort which is mentioned in the 'Ain Akbari, and which is said to have stood on the high mound that is now occupied by the Bâdshâhi serai of Jahangir.

Sultânpur is situated on the left bank of the Kâlna or Kâli-Veni River, 24 miles to the west-south-west of Jâlandhar. Its position corresponds almost exactly with that of the great monastery of *Ta-mo-su-fa-na* or *Tâmasa-vana*, the "black forest," which Hwen Thsang places 25 miles to the south-west of Jâlandhar. When I first saw Sultânpur in November 1838, during the life-time of Ranjit Singh, I approached it from the west through a thick jungle of elephant grass, or *sarkanda*, from 10 to 15 feet in height. On my next visit, in March 1846, when the army was returning from Lahor, I discovered that the town was situated near the edge of a vast quagmire of black mud, which was only thinly covered with a crust of clayey soil. Following in the track of the army I found this crust cracked and broken, and in many places covered with black mud. Under the weight of the heavy guns, and the recurring shock of the tread of infantry soldiers, the surface swayed and undulated until it cracked, when the black mud spurted up from 1 to 2 feet in height. By walking near the edges of the cracks I found that the mud overflowed the surface, and by making a quick pressure with the foot it came out with a spurt. I have mentioned this because I think it quite possible that the old name of "black forest" may have been derived from the black soil which nearly surrounded the place.

The space over which this black mud is found is well marked in the map by the absence of villages. Between Sultânpur and Lohian, 5 miles to the south, there is only one

[1] Erskine's Commentaries of Baber, suppl., p. 288, and Erskine's History of India, Vol. I, p. 419.

village with the expressive name of Dipowâl, or the "island place." To the north-east, on the road to Jâlandhar, the black mud is found at Bhor, 4½ miles, and at Aldita, 6½ miles. The tract is in fact in the fork of the Kâli-Veni and old Satlej. In digging wells black water and mud are found at a depth of from 2 to 5 feet, and the sand is only reached at a depth of from 8 to 12 feet. During the rainy season the road from Sultânpur to Dallâ, 4 miles to the south-east, is completely closed by the filling of the great swamp which is the real tract of *kâla-vana* or black forest, the tall grass standing in the deep mud and water.

The Bâdshâhi serai is a large enclosure, 485 feet square, but the walls are 15½° out of the meridian, which is a very unusual arrangement in a Muhammadan building. I have a strong suspicion, therefore, that the walls of the serai must have been built on the foundations of the old Buddhist monastery, as it was a common practice with both Buddhists and Brahmanists in ancient times to place their buildings about one nakshatra, or 13⅓° out of the meridian. The great size of the square would also agree very well with Hwen Thsang's statement that the monastery held 300 monks. I conclude also that it must have had two storeys, as the pilgrim compares it to a mountain.[1] According to the pilgrim, the space covered by monastic buildings, which surrounded this great one, was about 20 *li*, or upwards of 3 miles in circuit, which would give a diameter of about 1 mile There are no traces now of any Buddhist buildings; but there are numerous old mounds all about containing millions of large bricks; and it is quite conceivable that these religious buildings may have covered the whole space now occupied by the town, which is about 1 mile in length by ½ a mile in breadth. But the town was very much larger during the reign of the Mughal emperors; and at the time of Nâdir Shah's invasion is said to have possessed no less than 32 bazars and 5,500 shops. Inside the great monastery there was a stûpa 200 feet in height, with the thrones of the four Buddhas and a promenade. All these of course have disappeared when the fort was built by Daulat Khan Lodi; its ruins must have added considerably to the height of the mound, which is 30 feet above the roads outside. There were hundreds and thousands of stûpas containing relics of Buddha, besides small stûpas without number. These monu-

[1] Julien's Hwen Thsang, Vol. II, p. 201.

ments were so close together that their shadows mingled. But many of the stûpas must have been in ruins, as the pilgrim notes that "the teeth and bones of former saints who had obtained Nirvâna were still found." The monastery of Tâmasavana was famous as the place where Kâtyayana had composed the *Abhidharma-juâna-prasthâva*.

The countless stûpas seen by Hwen Thsang were no doubt used up in the houses of the city when it was rebuilt by Doulat Khan; and whatever may have been left by him would have been carried off by the Mughal builders of Jahângir's serai.

To the north of the serai there are the remains of two different bridges which once spanned the Kâlna or Kâli-Veni River. They were both built on well foundations; but as the piers had the same thickness as the span of the arches, one-half of the water-way was obstructed, and the river, like Virgil's *pontem indignatus Araxes*, soon made a way for itself by cutting away the bank at one end of the bridge. The upper bridge is said to have been built by Jahângir, which is no doubt true, as it stands on the old high road to Lahor, which is still marked by a Kos minâr close by. The other bridge is attributed to Aurangzeb.

There is another Bâdshâhi bridge of similar construction which once spanned the Dhauli-Veni River at Dakhini Serai. Only five of the arches now remain, the stream having swept away the other half of the bridge. These two streams, the Kâli-Veni and the Dhauli-Veni, are popularly said to have been produced by the stroke of Arjun's arrows. I presume, however, that they were so called because their sources lie in the forests of Bambu [Venu], which cover the lower range of hills near Hushiarpur. The names of *Kali-veni Nadi*, the "black bambu river," and *Kalna* or *Kali Nadi*, the "black river," must have been derived from the black muddy soil through which it flows; and by antithesis the other small stream would naturally be called the *Dhauli-veni Nadi*, or "white bambu river."

The coins obtained at Sultânpur range from a very early date down to the present day. The earliest is a square copper piece with an elephant on one side and a lion on the other. Over the elephant is the name *Budha* in Arian characters. I got 13 coins of the Satrap *Rajubul*, who reigned about the beginning of the Christian era. Altogether there were 34 Hindu coins and 51 Muhammadan. Amongst the former were five of the Varâha type in silver, two of Samanta,

and six of Madana Pâla Deva of Delhi. Amongst the Muhammadan coins there were 13 specimens of the Ghazni kings, 25 of the Ghori kings beginning with Mahmud-bin Sâm, 10 of the Afghân Lodis and Surs, and 3 of Shâh Jahan. From this detail it will be seen that the occupation of the site must have been continuous from the earliest times.

The bricks found in the ruins are 11½ by 8 by 2 inches in size. Amongst them was found one carved brick, and a portion of a female figure in stone, broken at the waist. I got also a clay mould for making terra-cotta figures of Ganesa; but I could not find even any fragments of clay seals. I have no doubt, however, that deeper excavations would bring to light many of these relics, and perhaps also some of the "teeth and bones" of the Buddhist saints alluded to by Hwen Thsang.

21.—DALLA.

Four miles to the south-east of Sultânpur, on the high bank of the old bed of Satlej, there is a large mound of brick ruins, 4,000 feet in length by 1,200 feet in breadth, on which stand the villages of Dallâ and Kiri. The people say that Dallâ was older than Sultânpur, but this statement is not borne out by the coins that I obtained there, which were limited to the Muhammadan period. The mound, however, is from 12 to 15 feet in height, and though there are no existing remains of any ancient buildings, yet the thousands of large bricks, which literally cover the surface in many places, are sufficient to attest the antiquity of the place. Its decay is attributed to the change in the course of the Satlej, which is now 7 miles distant, and which in the times of Akbar, and so late as the end of the last century, flowed in a channel about 8 or 10 miles to the south of its present course. The desertion of the bed under Dallâ must therefore have taken place many centuries back. The old line of the Satlej is well marked, not only by the high bank, but by several decayed towns, as Lohian, Shâhkot, the Mahidpur. All of these would naturally have been flourishing while they possessed the river as an easy means of communication with other places. But these communications are now practically cut off during half the year by swamps and different old channels of the Satlej.

22.—NAKODAR.

The large old town of Nakodar is situated on the Bâdshâhi

Road leading from Delhi to Lahor, at 18 miles to the east-south-east of Sultânpur, and 16 miles to the south-south-west of Jâlandhar. It possesses two fine Muhammadan tombs, which are situated close together amongst some very fine old trees, the remains of a former garden. One of the tombs was built in A.H. 1021, or A.D. 1612, during the reign of Jahângir, and the other in A.H. 1069 or A.D. 1657, near the close of Shah Jâhan's reign. The former is popularly known as the tomb of the *ustâd*, or "Teacher," and the latter as that of his "pupil." They are both ornamented on the outside with various patterns in glazed tiles, but the work is not so good as that of the best examples at Agra and Lahor. But though similar in external decoration and in general style, they are quite different in their designs, both in plan and in elevation.

The ground plan of the older tomb is an octagon with four long and four short sides. This particular form is called a Bâgdâdi octagon, which some say is constructed as follows: Each side of the square is divided into four, and the points being joined, the enclosed area is divided into sixteen squares, of which the four middle ones form the interior of the building. Then a diagonal drawn across each of the corner squares forms the shorter face of the octagon, while each longer face is left equal to one-half of the side of the square. The dimensions of this tomb, however, do not quite agree with this arrangement, although they do not differ very much from the calculated figures. As the same differences, however, are observable in the relative dimensions of the platform on which the tomb stands, as well as those of the octagon of the Tâj Mahal at Agra, the mode of construction cannot have been on the principle of equal squares.

According to my measurements, the interior of the tomb is 30 feet square, while the exterior square, which should be exactly double, or 60 feet, is actually 61½ feet.[1] Similarly the thickness of the walls being 15 feet 9 inches, the short face of the octagon, which should be 22¼ feet, is only 21 feet, while the longer face, which should be only 30 feet, is exactly 32 feet. The tomb also stands on a raised platform of the same shape, the longer faces being 47½ feet, and the shorter ones 36 feet 8 inches.

Externally, each of the longer faces is pierced by a deep recess, and each shorter face by a half-octagonal recess, both

[1] See Plate XX for the plan of this tomb.

covered by pointed arches. The entrance is on the south, and on each of the other three faces there is a doorway closed by a screen of trelliswork. The dome, which is hemispherical, springs from a cylindrical neck and is crowned by a small pinnacle. There are only four turrets, although the building has eight angles. But perhaps the building was hastily finished, as I observed that only the middle panels of the outer ornamentation were filled with glazed tiles, the upper and lower panels being simply painted, excepting the spandrils of the arched frames, which are of glazed tiles. All the joints of the glazed tiles are pointed, but they are slightly separated by thin raised ridges of plaster, like the raised pointing of brickwork. I have noticed the same peculiarity in the glazed tilework of Jahângir's palace at Lahor. The framing of the panels is red, the bricks having been first covered with a thin coating of Indian red plaster and then pointed with white. This plaster was exceptionally good, as it still retains its polish. All the patterns are geometrical. The chief colours are yellow, blue, and green.

There is a short inscription of one line over the entrance doorway on the south, which is repeated on the north side—

Basai ihtimâm ahkar-ul-abâd Muhammad Mumin Huseni Sanh 1021.

'Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, Muhammad Mumin, Huseni, A.H. 1021 or A.D. 1612"

The people know nothing of Muhammad Mûmin except that he was an *ustâd*, that is, a "teacher or master;" but as he died in the beginning of Jahângir's reign I thought it not improbable that I might find some notice of him in the "Ain Akbari." On turning to Blochmann's translation I find that the very last entry is the name of "Ustâd Muhammad Husain, plays the Tamburah." And in a note is added the further information that, according to the Maasir-i-Rahimi "Muhammad Mûmin, *alias* Hâfizak, a Tamburah player," was one of the musicians in the service of Khân Khânân.[1] This then is the very man who lies in the tomb at Nakodar. The title of Hâfizak shows that he was accustomed to play from memory. His proficiency as a musician of course attracted pupils; and so he is remembered only by his title of *ustâd*, the "teacher or master."

When I saw this tomb in November 1838, there were two very elegant sarcophagi inside of sienna-coloured marble,

[1] Blochmann's Ain Akbari, p. 613 and note 3.

inlaid with white marble inscriptions. They were both highly polished, and were then in good order, although the tomb had been long before desecrated by the Sikhs. At my visit in 1879, I found that the building had been turned into a school-house; no harm has been done to the exterior, which has been left untouched, but the interior has been smudged with the usual sanitary whitewash.

The second tomb just reverses the plan of the first, as it is octagonal inside and square outside, with octagonal turrets at the four corners. It is, however, as nearly as possible of the same size, the side of the squares of its ground plan, including the tower, being 61½ feet. On each of the four faces there is a half-octagon recess covered by a pointed arch. The entrance is on the south side, and on each of the other three sides there is a trellised opening. The room inside is 33 feet 10 inches in diameter. The octagonal tower at the corners are finished with open cupolas, rising above the battlements. The dome is of the common pear-shape which was in use during the reign of Shâh Jahân. It stands on a cylindrical neck 39 feet 3 inches in diameter. The building rises in the middle of a raised platform, 107 feet 6 inches square and 8 feet high, panelled on all sides with deep niches.

The ornamentation consists chiefly of glazed tile-work, the frames of the panels being of brick covered with a thin coating of Indian red stucco, highly polished and pointed with white lines. The taller panels are filled with representations of large pots of flowers, similar to those of the time of Shâh Jahân and Aurangzeb. The smaller panels have geometrical patterns and plates of fruit, some with oblong striped melons, and others with oranges and lemons. The broad belts between the panels are ornamented with large diaper patterns in tiles of yellow, green, white, dark-blue, and purple. The patterns of the squares at the angles are marked by peculiar angular quirks at each corner, which are much more novel than pleasing. The octagonal tower and the battlements are also ornamented with glazed tiles, as well as the pinnacles of the domes.

Over the entrance door there is the following inscription in two lines:—

Basai mam akil-ul-abâd o Akhar.
Bandeh Kamtarîn sanh 1067 Hâji Jamâl.

"Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, the humble slave, Hâji Jamâl A.H. 1067, or A.D. 1657.

Of Hâji Jamâl all that is known is that he was a pupil of Mâhammad Mumin, the occupant of the other tomb.

23.—NÛRMAHAL.

The small town Nûrmahal in the Jâlandhar Doâb was named after the famous Empress of Jahângir, and in honour of her its Bâdshâhi sarai was built of unusual size, and with two highly ornamented stone gateways. Nûrmahal is situated 25 miles to the east-south-east of Sultânpur, 16 miles to the south of Jâlandhar, and 13 miles to the west of Phalor. The site is an old one, as proved by the large bricks, 13 by 11 by 3½ inches, which are dug up in great numbers, as well as by numerous coins found on the spot, which range from the earliest times down to the present day. I obtained one punch-marked silver coin, one copper piece of the satrap Rajubul, and one of Mahipâl of Delhi, besides numerous Muhammadan coins of all ages. The bricks are finger-marked by three concentric semicircles with a dot in the centre.

In 1863 I was informed that the old Hindu name of the place was *Kot Kahlor*, and I see that the Deputy Commissioner of Jâlandhar has stated the same thing in the Gazetteer of the Jâlandhar District. In 1879 some of the people gave the old name as *Kot kapûr*. But there is no doubt that both of these names have originated in a misreading of a part of the inscription over the western gateway of the sarai. The words are clearly "*ba-khitah Phalor*, in the district of Phalor" and not *Ba-takht kahlor* or *ba-kot-kapûr*, as read by the people. I had an inked impression of this part of the inscription made before all the people, and on showing it to them they admitted that my reading was correct.

The sarai is 551 feet square outside, including the octagonal towers at the corners. The western gateway is a double-storeyed building faced on the outside with red sandstone from the Fatehpur Sikri quarries. The whole front is divided into panels ornamented with sculpture; but the relief is low and the workmanship coarse. There are angels and fairies, elephants and rhinoceroses, camels and horses, monkeys and peacocks, with men on horseback and archers on elephants. The sides of the gateway are in much better taste, the ornament being limited to foliated scroll-work with birds sitting on the branches. But even in this the design is much better than the execution, as there is little relief. Over the entrance there is a long inscription.

There was also a similar gateway on the eastern side, but this is now only a mass of ruin, and all the stone facing has disappeared. There was also an inscription over this gateway, which will be given presently, as a copy of it was fortunately preserved by one of the inhabitants.

In the north side of the court-yard there is a masjid, and in the middle a fine well. On each side there are 32 rooms, each 10 feet 10 inches square, with a verandah in front. In each corner there were three rooms, one large and two small. The Emperor's apartments formed the centre block of the south side, three storeys in height. The rooms were highly finished, but all their beauty is now concealed under the prevailing whitewash. The main room was oblong in shape, with a half-octagon recess on two sides, similar to the large rooms in the corners of the sarai, one of which is shown in the accompanying plate.[1] From this description it will be seen that there was accommodation inside for about 100 people. But the great mass of the Imperial followers found their quarters outside, in an exterior court about 2,000 feet square, some of the walls of which were pointed out to me in November 1838; all these have disappeared now.

The sarai is said to have been built by Zakariya Khan, the Nâzim of the Subah of Jâlandhar, during the reign of Jahângir. His inscription, which is cut in sunken letters on the right jamb of the west gateway, says nothing about the *building* of the sarai, while the main inscription over the western gateway distinctly states that the sarai was erected by the order of Nûrjahân [*ba-hukam Nur Jahân Begam*]. I suppose, therefore, that the actual work was superintended by Zakariya Khan, of whom I can learn nothing; but who appears from his inscription to have been an energetic man. This inscription consists of six short lines, as follows:—

Akhaz râhdâri abwâb
Mamnûah bamûjib amar Nawâb
Zakariya Khân bahâdur Nâzim
Subah muâf harkas az, Fojdâ-
rân Doâbah bagîrad, bar zanao.
talâk, talâk, talâk.

"Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakariya Khan, Bahadur, Governor of the district, having exempted them. Should any Fojdar of the Doab collect these dues, may his wives be divorced."

The expressive word *talâk*, three times repeated at the end

[1] See Plate XXI.

of this inscription, means "divorce, or repudiation," and its threefold repetition by a husband is said to be all that is necessary for a formal divorce. As this record is engraved on the gateway of the Bâdshâhi sarai, I conclude that the rooms of the sarai were available for the use of travellers whenever the Emperor was not moving himself; or perhaps it was only the outer court, which has now disappeared, that was so appropriated.

The inscription over the eastern gateway must have been put up before that on the western gate, as it gives the earlier date of A.H. 1028 only, whereas the latter gives the later date of A.H. 1030 in addition to that of 1028.

The date is given in the last line, according to the *abjad* or numerical powers of the letters

"Abad shud za Nûr Jahân Begam ain Sarai."

The whole inscription in five rhyming verses is as follows:—

Over the East or Delhi Gate.

1.—Shâhè Jahân badâur Jahângir bâdshâh
Shânhinshâhè zamin-o-zamân sâyè Khudâ
2.—Mâmûr kard baske Jahân râ ba-adl-o-dâd
tâ-âsmân rasîd binâ bar sarè binâ
3.—Nûr-e-Jahân ke hamdam-o-hamsâz khâs aust
jarmûd ain Sarai wasi e sipahar sâ
4.—Chûn ain binâi kher-ba rûè zamîn nihâd
bâdâ binâi umrash jâwed bar bakâ
5.—târîkh ain chûn gasht mûrattib ba-guft akal
âbâd shud za Nûr Jahân Begam ain Sarâi

1.—During the reign of Jahângir Bâdshah, lord of the Universe,
king of kings of this world and his time, the shadow of God.
2.—The fame of whose goodness and justice overspread the earth
Until it reached even the highest heavens above.
3.—His wife and trusted companion, Nûr Jahân,
commanded the erection of this Sarai, wide as the heavens.
4.—When this fortunate building rose upon the face of the earth,
May its walls last for ever and ever!
5.—The date of its foundation wisdom found in the words
"This Sarai was founded by Nûr Jahân Begam."

The inscription over the west gateway, which is in four rhyming verses, is as follows:

Over the West or Lahor Gate.

1.—Ba-daur adl Jahângir Shâh. Akbar Shâh
kih âsmân-o-zamîn misl-au nâdârad yâd
2.—binâi Nûr Sarâ shud bâ-khitah-Phalor
ba-hûkam Nûr Jahân Begam farishtah-nihâd

3.—barâi sâl binâyash sûkhan ware khûsh gûft
ke shud za Nur Jahân Begam ain Sarâ âbâd 1028
4.—chu, shûd tamâm khirad gûft bahar târîkhash
ba-shûd za Nûr Jahân Begam ain Sarâ âbâd 1030

1.—During the just rule of Jahângir Shâh, son of Akbar Shâh, whose like neither heaven nor earth remembers,
2.—The Nûr Sarai was founded in the district of Phalor By command of the angel-like Nûr Jahân Begam.
3.—The date of its foundation the poet happily discovered "This Sarai was founded by Nûr Jahân Begam" (1028)
4.—The date of its completion wisdom found in the words "This Sarai was erected by Nûr Jahân Begam" (1030).

The last half line of this inscription gives the date of A.H. 1030 by merely adding the letter B to the seventh half line, thus changing *shud* to *bashûd*, and adding 2 to the number. The words are arranged somewhat differently, the *âbad* being placed at the end of the line.

24.—SUNIT.

Four miles to the west of Ludiana, and to the south of the Firozpur road, there is a large mound, 1,750 feet in length by 1,200 feet in breadth, on which stands the village of Sunit. Large bricks, 13 by 8 by 2¼ inches, are found here in such a quantity that the Railway contractor obtained ballast sufficient for 18 miles of the Railway from the Satlej to Dorâha sarai. The fort of Ludiana is said to have been built with them, and at the time of my visit I saw several cart-loads being taken away to Ludiana. Large bricks are also found in the fields at three-quarters of a mile to the east towards Ludiana I saw also two fragments of sculpture in sandstone, one being the body of a male figure, the other the knee of a squatted figure.

But one of the surest tests of the antiquity of a place is the number and variety of the old coins that are found there. At Sunit I obtained upwards of one thousand coins, of which I was able to recognise 576. Amongst them was 1 coin of the Greek King Hermæus, 269 coins of the earlier Indo-Scythians, 132 of the later Indo-Scythians, 1 Gupta coin, and 126 of the Indo-Sassanian period. With them there were 2 old Hindu coins of Amogha bhuti, 1 of Uttama-datta, and 17 of Vyâghra. Of Samanta Deva, about A.D. 900, there were no less than 20 specimens, but strange to say there was only one Muhammadan coin, an Ala-ud-din Muhammad of Delhi, amongst the 576 specimens.

From these coins the following facts may be deduced with almost absolute certainty:—

1.—The town of Sunit was in existence before the Christian era as evidenced by the coins of Uttama-datta and Amogha bhuti It continued to flourish during the whole period of the dominion of the Indo-Scythians, and of their successors who used Sassanian types down to the time of Samanta Deva, the Brahman King of Kabul and the Punjab.

2.—From the total absence of coins of the Tomara Rajas of Delhi, as well as of all the different Muhammadan dynasties, it would appear that Sunit must have been destroyed during one of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and afterwards remained unoccupied for many centuries.

A short notice of Sunit has already been published by Mr. Tolbort, which I will now quote, as it differs in a few of the details from the story which I heard on the spot:—

"There are no standing ruins; but broken bricks are found on the surface for a great distance, and excavations beneath what are now corn-fields uncover walls and floors of brick so extensive that for centuries past they have supplied Ludiana with much of its building material. People say that the masonry work is mostly upside down, the smooth and marked side of the bricks which one would expect to find uppermost being on the contrary downwards. This may perhaps indicate that Sunit was overthrown by some sudden convulsion of nature, perchance an earthquake, and the popular traditions are in accordance with this supposition. I have been unable to trace the authentic history of Sunit, but the story of its fall, a mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan fable, is as follows There was once a king at Sunit named Râjâ Mauj Gend or Ponwâr, who treated his subjects with great violence and cruelty. This king was afflicted with an ulcer, and was told that human flesh would do it good. So an order went forth to bring him a human being, as occasion required, from each household.

"One day it so happened that it was the turn of a Brahman widow, who had an only child ten years of age. The myrmidons of the tyrant came to carry off the child, when its mother's tears moved the sympathy of a holy man, Shah Qutb by name. He after a vain attempt to turn away the soldiers, swore that they should never see their homes again, and so it happened. They turned towards Sunit, but both Sunit and its Raja had disappeared from the face of the earth."

The legend which I heard was as follows: Sir-kap was the Raja of Sunit. He was in the habit of eating a goat daily, but the supply of goats having failed, his cook served up the flesh of a young child The Raja observed the difference, and the cook explained the difficulty. Sir-kap was satisfied, and ordered the cook to serve up a young child daily, at last the child of a Brahman widow was taken, when

the mother at once went to Ludiana and implored the great saint Kutb Shâh to assist her, which he did most effectually by killing Sir-kap.

When I heard the name of Kutb Shâh I immediately asked if there were Awâns at Sunit. The answer was that there were no Awâns in Sunit itself; but in Ludiana there are no less than 250 houses of Awâns, and a large number in the neighbouring village of Barehwâl, only 1½ miles distant. Kutb Shâh was the progenitor of all the Awâns; and I have little doubt that the legend of Sir-kap was brought to Sunit by the Awân colonists in Ludiana from the Awânkâri District between the Jhelam and Indus.

25.—JANER.

Just half-way between Ludiana and Firozpur, about 4 miles to the north of the high road near Moga, and close to the old bed of the Satlej, there is an old town named Janer, which is perched on the top of the longest mound in the Firozpur District. The people call the place simply *Janer*, and they refer its name to Raja Janak, but the true name would appear to have been either Jajner or Jagner Amongst the routes given by Rashid-ud-din from Al Biruni, the following gives the earliest mention of this place that I have been able to find.—

"From Kanauj towards the west to Dyaman, is 10 parasangs; thence to Gati, 10; thence to Ahâr, 10; thence to Mirat, 10; thence across the Jumna to Pânipat, 10; thence to Kaithal, 10; to Sanâm, 10. In going north-west from the latter place to Arat-pur, 9 parasangs; thence to Hajnir, 6; thence to Mandhûkûr, the capital of Lohâwar, on the east of the River Irâwa, 8; &c."

The curious name of Mandhûkûr is simply a mistake for Mahmûdpur, which was the new name given to Lahor by Mahmûd of Ghazni.[1] The route here laid down from Mirat to Lahor is so nearly straight, and the distances are generally so accurate, that Abu Rihân must have received his information from some one who knew the country well. In the map of the Panjâb which accompanies this Report, I have laid down all the places here named from Kaithal to Lahor, and have connected them with a dotted line to mark the old route. The only name that requires correction is that of *Aratpur*, which should certainly be Badhor, not only on account of its distance from Sanâm, but because it actually lies on the old

[1] His Sanskrit coins bear the name of Mahmudpur.

road leading to Lahor, the greater part of which I have myself marched over The name of *Hajner* is also written *Jajner* in some of the manuscripts, and from the position assigned to it, on the road from Badhor to Lahor, there can be no doubt that it is the same place as that now called *Janer*, but the distance from Lahor should be 18 instead of 8 parasangs.[1]

In the following passage of Shams-i-Sirâj, describing the canal works of Firoz Shâh, there is a distinct mention of *Janer* under its present name. His words are[2]—

"Numerous watercourses were brought into these places (Fathabâd and Hisar Firozah) and an extent of from 80 to 90 *kos* in these districts was brought under cultivation, in which there were many towns and villages, as the Kasbas of *Janíd* [read *Janer*] and Dahatarath, and town of Hansi and its dependencies."

As the two Persian letters *d* and *r* are so much alike, and are constanly interchanged in the manuscripts, there can be no doubt that the first name should be *Janer*

I have a strong suspicion that the place is mentioned at a still earlier date during the wars between Prithi Râj and Muhammad bin-Sâm. The battle-field where the Hindu Raja was defeated and made prisoner is said to have been between *Hajner* and Tabarhind. As one of the various readings of the first name is Hajiz, I think it highly probable that the true reading was *Jajner*. If this identification be correct, the famous battle-field of Tarâin must be looked for somewhere between Tabarhind and *Janer* Ferishta places it at Azimâbâd Tirouri, 14 miles to the north of Karnâl; but as the Hindu Raja fled towards the Sarsuti River, where he was captured, the battle-field *must* have been to the west of that river. This is confirmed by the fact that the fort of Tabarhind had just capitulated to Prithi Râj, and that on Muhammad's advance he took up a position in the vicinity of Tarâin.[3] As Minhâj received his information from a man who was present with the Muhammadan army, his account is most probably quite correct. Now *Tabarhind* or *Tabarhindah* is almost certainly the famous old fort of Bhatindah, 50 miles to the south of Janer, and on the high road to Sirsâ or Sarsuti, to which the Raja fled. Also between Bhatindah and Sirsa, at 27 miles from the former and 20 miles from the latter, there is a village named *Târawâna*, which agrees both in name and

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, Vol. I, p. 62.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, Vol. III, p. 301.
[3] Tabakat-i-Nasiri, in Elliot, Vol. II, p. 296, and Raverty's translation, p. 468.

in position with the battle-field of *Turain* But if Ferishta had any authority for identifying Tarain with Tarauri, then the village of *Tharaur* or Taror, between Janer and Bhatindah, must be the place, as it corresponds with the description of the position. This village is 32 miles from Janer, and 19 miles to north-north-east of Bhatindah. This would have covered Bhatindah. But had the battle taken place to the north of Bhatindah, Prithi Râj would most probably have sought refuge in that fort, whereas if it had taken place at Târawâna, to the south of Bhatindah, the natural line of flight would have been to the south towards Sirsa or Sarsuti, where he was actually captured.

The town of Janer is also mentioned by Abul Fazl under the name of *Janid*, the *d* and *t* of Persian being so much alike as to be constantly confused.[1]

The great mound of Janer is about 7,000 feet square and about 30 feet in height. Its exact height could not be ascertained, as it is covered with houses, but a clear spot was found to be 28½ feet. Its antiquity is proved by the large size of the old bricks, 13 by 9½ by 2 inches, which are dug up, as well as by the numbers of old coins discovered in the ruin. Out of 184 recognised specimens which I obtained, there were two Indo-Scythian coins, 88 billon coins of Sâmanta Deva, Raja of Kabul and the Panjâb, besides 60 of four Rajas of Kangra, and 34 of thirteen different Muhammadan kings.

Like all other places in India, Janer has its legend, which differs, however, from most in making the tyrant a woman and one of a low family. Once on a time, during a great famine, a woman from a distance came to see her brother at Janer, but the brother's wife took a spite against the sister's two children, and would not give them any food. The mother then took to grinding corn to earn a little food for her two boys, which the brother's wife soon stopped The children, however, still remained fat; and when the sister-in-law bothered the mother to tell her how she managed to keep them from starving, the mother confessed that when she returned with clothes from the wash, she brought them quite wet, and then wrung out the water for the children to drink. On hearing this the sister-in-law ordered that the clothes should be washed at home. The poor mother then prayed that the city might be turned upside down, which took place at once, but no one knows how long ago.

[1] See Gladwin's 'Ain Akbari,' Vol. II, p. 343.

26.—PANJOR, OR PANCHAPURA.

The picturesque old town of Panjor, the Pinjor of our maps, was originally one of the principal places in the territories of the Raja of Sirmur, but now it belongs to Patiâla. The earliest mention of it which I have been able to find is by Abu Rihân in A.D. 1030, who gives the following route[1] :—

"From Kanauj going north and turning a little to the west, you come to *Sarsara* (read *Sarsawa* by interchange of Persian *w* for *r*), 50 parasangs; thence to Pinjor 18 parasangs. That place is on a lofty hill, and opposite to it in the plains is the city of Thânesar ; thence to Tahmala, the capital of Jalândhar, and at the base of a mountain, 18—"

On this passage Sir H. Elliot notes that the description of Pinjor is not correct, as the place is "in a valley at the foot of hills." But he omits to notice the equally incorrect account of Dahmala (or Nurpur), which is actually on the top of a hill, instead of being at the base of one. I think it not improbable that the two descriptions may have changed places, and that we should place Pinjor at the base of a mountain, and Dahmala on the top of a hill, which would make both correct

The next mention of the place is by Minhâj, who records that in A.H 652, or A.D 1254, Nâser-uddin Mahmud gained many successes and much spoil while skirting the mountains (*koh paya*) of Bardâr and Bijnor.[2] Now Bardar must either be Pinjor itself, or some place in its immediate vicinity, as I will presently show.

Bardar is again mentioned in the reign of Firoz Toghlak in the Târikh-i-Mubarak Shâh in the following terms :—

"Some time afterwards, he (Firoz) heard that there was in the vicinity of *Bardar*, a hill of earth through the midst of which a large river flowed and fell into the Satludr." This river was called Sarsuti

Now this is the classical name of the Sirsa nadi, which flows from Pinjor westwards into the Satlej, and it was the water of this river that Firoz proposed to divert, by cutting right through the Siwalik range, to feed his new canal running down to Hansi. Ferishta calls the place *Parmar* or *Paror*; but in spite of these aberrations in the spelling of the name, caused by the imperfection of the Persian characters, there can be little or no doubt that the place intended was Panjor

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, Vol. I, p. 61
[2] Raverty's Translation of Tabakat-i-Nasiri, p. 696.

The next mention of the place, although not by name is in the memoirs of Timur, where Raja Ratan Sen is said to have taken up a position in a valley between the *Siwâlik* mountain and the *Kuka* mountain. "The position," he says, "was exceedingly strong. The hills on both sides raised their heads to the clouds." On the 14th of Jumâd-ul-awal, Timur crossed the Jumna somewhere near the foot of the hills and made a forced march during the day, which was continued through the night by torch-light, and on the 15th he penetrated between the Siwâlik mountain and the Kuka mountain." This must have been at or near Mammâjra, and the position taken up by the Raja would have been somewhere in front of Pinjor. The Hindus were of course defeated and fled to the woods.[1]

The Raja is called Ratan Sen by Timur and Rai Ratan by Sharaf-ud-din Now in the genealogical list of the Sirmur Rajas, there is a Ratan Prakâs, exactly midway between Bali Prakâs, the founder of the dynasty, and Fâteh Prakas, who was reigning in 1815 when the Goorkhas invaded the coun try. Ratan is the 19th out of 38 chiefs who preceded Fateh Prakâs. Now Bali Prakas is said to have conquered Sirmur in Samvat 1123 or A.D. 1066. The death of Ratan would therefore be placed exactly midway between A.D. 1066 and 1815, or in A.D. 1440, and as the average length of reign is nearly 20 years, the date of his rule will fall between 1420 and 1440, which is so close to the actual date of Timur's inva sion of India in A.H. 801, or A.D. 1398-99, that I have no doubt the Ratan Prakâs of the list is the Ratan Sen of Timur's memoirs.

Panjor retains few traces of antiquity, the place having been repeatedly harried by the Muhammadans, who threw down the temples and built a mosque out of the ruins. There is a small square pool of water, surrounded by Hindu pillars, in which the people bathe daily, as it is considered very holy. Inside the arcade there is an inscription, and two other inscriptions were found in the walls surrounding the masjid. The oldest of these records is unfortunately much broken, and is so incomplete as to be quite unreadable Here and there I can make out single words, and in two places I have found the name of *Panchapura*, which the Brahmans say was the original name of the place. This is no doubt correct, as *Panchapura* and *Panchâwara* have

[1] See the two accounts by Timur himself and by Sharaf-uddin in Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, Vol. III., pp. 463 and 514

exactly the same meaning. In the same way the Rajapura of the Raja Tarangini and of Hwen Thsang has now become Rajaori. The inscription is incomplete both at top and bottom. Its illegible state is much to be regretted, as it was a long record, consisting of at least 27 lines of small letters.

The second inscription of six lines is complete, except on the right hand, where the stone is broken. It opens with an invocation to Ganesa:—

1.—Swasti Aum namo Ganapataye samallasapas Varmma Deva Saras tama marya vacharâpura bhara lasavamu mana.

2.—voddhâmarulajja vacha samastra rava Sanggame mapuri paurddashti soniyândot bhava Vaksho Lakshmipati-shtasmarghi 5 mwa

3.—ngkânivavatâta Kasturi rasapa tangachatah tena samaranintah *Vishnuj Jishnuralang Karishnu* rabhi to go pika palobhi.

4.—nggîno Sâviti ropayanihasitânda yâmansâvah Govar-dhanâchala machamchala muchha Sringgâma abhyumdharan muchira machshuta.

5.—Sa va mahsâna iva pâtu samâ sayushmân mukta karain muni bhira bhito mantri tandocha mulah santanenatri bhuvana mapina.

6.—damitâkah sanggpanâ sotayati saralassiharadwâja vansah lasminna seshagunâ damni viveka pâmmi

The third inscription of four lines is dated on Friday the 9th day of Jeth sudi, in Samvat 56?—or A.D.—? The language is Hindi; but owing to the stone having peeled off in several places, the whole record has not been deciphered.

It reads as follows:—

1.—Aum! Susti! Samvat 56 Jeth Sudi 9 wâr Sukre: Sri Lakhana Râma Deva Sri Kotadhipati Dhâmanwa.

2.—Sri Sethi Goga 1 Thakur Sri Chhajuka: Thakur Sri Mâdhara 1 Kutuâla Sri Lolakara paka [chi mutakimva]?

3.—Telu—Suta Kajia Suta Vijala, Lâla—Suta Dhamu raladhira 1 Sutra Shâra Kiluna.

4.—Suta Galu.

27.—SADHORA.

The old town of Sadhora, which was once the head-quarters of a large district, is situated 24 miles to the east of Ambâla, on the left bank of the Nakti or Khandra River, along which it extends for three-quarters of a mile. The Nakti was originally the principal branch of the Sarsuti River, but except during great floods the whole of its waters now

join the Mârkanda River. In the dry season it is a mere broad bed of sand; but during the annual rains it is subject to sudden floods, and often becomes an impetuous and impassable torrent. The western portion of the site rises to a height of 50 and 60 feet above the river. This height was formerly crowned by a fort about 300 feet square inside, which is now dismantled. The height gradually lessens towards the east, but the whole area of the town still maintains a considerable elevation above the surrounding country.

Near the western end, and below the fort, there is an old Pathân masjid of coarse grey sandstone, which is known simply as the "stone masjid," and is attributed to one "Tusi Pathân." Between the masjid and the bed of the Nakti River, there is a thick belt of trees, which has so effectually arrested the drift sand that it now forms a long hillock as high as the masjid itself. Near the upper end of the town the bank has been much cut away, which is clearly shown by a well that was built during the Sikh rule, being left standing alone in the middle of the sandy bed of the river 200 feet from the bank. The town had a plentiful supply of water from numerous old wells, and a fine large tank called Tomar-on ka Tâl.

The site is undoubtedly a very old one, as ancient coins of all ages are found in considerable numbers. In two days I obtained 61 Hindu coins and 53 Muhammadan coins. But two-thirds of the former consisted of the very common money of Samanta Deva. The Muhammadan coins were continuous from the time of Muhammad-bin-Sâm down to Baber. The oldest mention of Sadhora that I know of is the reign of Firoz Tughlak.

There are no Hindu remains except a few stone pillars, and the walls of a fine old masjid, which is altogether of Hindu materials. This building is generally known as the Pathariya masjid, and its erection is attributed to "Tusi Pathân," of whom nothing is known except that he is said to have lived 500 years ago. From its style I should judge it to belong to the time of Alâuddin Khilji, which agrees very well with the tradition of the people.

The *Patharwâla masjid*, or "stone mosque," consists of three rooms, each covered by a hemispherical dome raised on a cylindrical neck The centre room is 19 feet square, and each of the side rooms 15 feet. There are three doorways to the front and one at each end. The walls are 5 feet 3

inches thick; but in spite of its unusual massiveness all three of the domes are in ruins. Some people, however, asserted that the domes were purposely destroyed by the Sikhs; but this was stoutly denied by others.

The corners of the square rooms are changed to the octagonal form by arched pendentives, each consisting of three distinct arches springing from brackets, and lessening in span as they recede. Behind the innermost arch there is a small semicircular-domed niche, supported on a bracket in the corner. The whole building is 70 feet long and 26½ feet broad outside. But in spite of its small size the general appearance of this mosque is striking, owing, perhaps, as much as to neatness of its workmanship as to the harmony of its proportions.[1]

The other buildings at Sadhora are of much later date, the earliest dated one belonging to the time of Jahângir. It is probable, however, that the Jami Masjid was of earlier date, as it was entirely faced with glazed tiles. Nearly the whole of the building has fallen down, one arch only now remaining In the walls of the court-yard I found three old Hindu pillars of poor design and coarse execution. One of these, on which the name of *Allah* has been cut by the Muhammadans, is represented in the accompanying plate. Close by I found also the *kalas*, or pinnacle, of a Hindu temple, 2 feet 7½ inches in diameter. But the masjid itself was built of brick, and amongst the ruins I found several carved bricks of good patterns well executed. A single specimen is given in the plate.

Two gateways of private dwellings, of which one is said to have been the Kâzi-ki-Haveli, are also covered with glazed tiles ornamented with geometrical patterns in blue, yellow and green. One of them has an inscription with the date of A.H. 1029.

Close by is the Kâzion-ka Masjid, 58 feet 8 inches long, with three doorways to the front, each inscribed. The left inscription gives the date of 1054 A.H., the middle one has the name of Shâh Jahân, but the right one is much broken.

In the same neighbourhood there is a small brick masjid, with three doorways to the front and a roof of three domes. The whole of the face is covered with glazed tiles, the sen tences from the Korân being in white letters on dark-blue ground. Over each of the doorways there is an inscription,

[1] See Plate XXIII

of which the middle one gives the date of A.H. 1080, and the name of Mahiuddin Alamgir Shah in brown letters on a yellow ground. The two side inscriptions are in yellow letters on a green ground. Over the middle doorway there are some geometrical patterns. This masjid appears to have been partly built of old materials, many of the bricks of the lower walls being 9 inches long.

There is also a small brick-and-stone tomb, 21½ feet square, of Sayid Shâh Abdul Wahab; a short inscription gives the date of A.H. 1137. The walls, to a height of 10 or 12 feet, are made of coarse grey stone. The arch of the doorway is of the same material, but the jambs of the inner doorway are of dark-red sandstone from Fatehpur Sikri. In the wall of the courtyard I found several carved bricks, some bearing the names of Allah, but the greater number having flower patterns.

28.—KAPÂL-MOCHAN.

The holy tank of *Kapâl-mochan* is situated on the east bank of the Sarsuti River, 10 miles to the south-east of Sadhora. Here Siva is said to have done penance by bathing in the tank to free himself from the sin of having cut off the four heads of Brahmâ From that time the tank has received the name of *Kapâl-mochan*, or the "head-freeing," that is, liberating from the sin of cutting off the heads of Brahmâ. There is a sacred pool of the same name at Kurukshetra. Two miles to the north there is a holy place dedicated to Brahmâ himself, called Brahmâkund. The kund itself was dry in March 1879, but there was a large mound on its bank covered with broken bricks

The source of the Sarsuti is said to be in the Adi-badari Kund, which gives its name to the upper course of the river, called *Yar-badari*, in the Indian Atlas sheet, No. 48. The waters of this stream now flow into the Somb, a tributary of the Jumna; but the people are unanimous in their belief that the Adi-badari is the upper course of the Sarsuti.

The *Kapâl-mochan* is a natural hollow near the bank of the Sarsuti River, which has been dammed up to form a kund or pool. The Brahmâkund is another hollow of the same kind, and I heard of several others along the course of this holy stream. When full the *Kapâl-mochan* is upwards of 1,000 feet in length by 400 feet in breadth; but in the dry season it is limited to a small pool, 300 feet in length by 200 feet in breadth at the western end of the hollows At the edge of

the water on the eastern side of this pool, there is a rough weatherworn stone, about 20 inches square and 8 inches high, bearing at each of the four corners a very rude representation of a human skull. This is the actual *Kapâl-mochan* which gives its name to the pool. One of these representations may possibly be the natural hollows of a weatherworn stone; but the other three must be the work of the astute Brahman who invented the shrine. It struck me, however, that the four skull-like representations might be only the remains of four lions' heads at the corners of a piece of pillar, which having been very much weatherworn might be accepted as very rude likenesses of four human skulls, the representatives of the four heads of Brahmâ.

Another weatherworn stone is called *Gai-bacha*, or the "cow and calf," from its general resemblance to their forms. This stone is also esteemed holy, and as a matter of course has its own legend, which is as follows: A Brahman who owned a cow and calf wished to bore the septum of the calf's nose for the insertion of a cord. Then the calf said to the cow, "if the Brahman bores my nose, I will kill him." The cow pointed out the enormity of the sin of killing a Brahman, but the calf was obstinate, and would not listen to the cow's advice. So when the calf's nose was bored, the Brahman was killed by the calf, after which both the cow and the calf became quite black. The cow consulted some Devatas as to what should be done to regain their former whiteness, and she was recommended to bathe in the pool of *Kapâl-mochan*. Both the cow and the calf accordingly came to this holy place, and after bathing in the pool, in which Siva had been cleansed from the sin of cutting off Brahmâ's four heads, they became quite white, all except their tails and hórns, which still remained black.

To the south of the *Kapâl-mochan* there is a sacred holy tank, called *Rin-mochan*, or the "debt-freeing" pool; because the Brahmans of the place affirm that whoever bathes in it becomes at once free of debt. The tank is a square of nearly 500 feet each side, the north and west banks being faced with stone steps. Numbers of people bathe in it daily in the vain hope that something may turn up to relieve them from their debts. The pool of water is probably an old one; but the stone facing has certainly been derived from the ruins of some large temple which once stood on a high mound immediately on the bank of the *Kapâl-mochan* tank, and just over the *Kapâl-mochan* stone

This mound, which is about 100 feet square at base, appears to consist of a solid mass of bricks with a few fragments of stone. The quantity of square stones taken from this site can best be realised by stating the amount of new work which has been made with them. I have already mentioned the two sides of the *Rin-mochan* tank, about 800 feet in length, and 8 or 10 feet in height, which are faced with these stones, many of them being highly ornamented. But there are also two enclosures, one surrounding the Sikh temple, which is 68 feet square, and the other forming the Guru's residence, which is 112 feet square, the whole being from 20 to 25 feet in height. As one of the walls is common to both enclosures, the total number of running feet of wall is 112 × 4=448 and 68 × 3=204 feet, or altogether 652 feet. The whole of this mass of stonework was carefully examined for traces of inscriptions, of which two were found. Both of them are unfortunately only fragments, but as they are in Gupta characters and in beautiful preservation, they are of considerable value in enabling us to fix the probable date of the temple to which they belonged. Their fragmentary state is the more to be regretted as one of them contained a written date. Copies of both inscriptions are given in the accompanying plate;[1] that to the left reads

Ssri bhâjisthitassa maty a setbhichha

that to the right reads as follows:—

Satechâpi panchashastyâdhike tathâ Mâgha mâse sita.

"When (?) hundred and sixty-five years had elapsed in the month of Magha, the bright (half) —— "

If this be referred to the Gupta era beginning in A.D. 167, then the date of the *Kapâl-mochan* temple will be 166 + 265 =431, or 531 A.D during the sway of the later Guptas. The left hand fragment is however of earlier date, as the letters *s* and *th* in it are of older forms than those of the same letters in the right hand fragment.

In the same plate I have given sketches of two of the ornamental stones which formed part of the facing of the old temple. These also appear to me to belong to the Gupta period, as the style is similar to that which I have observed at Bhilsa and Eran in buildings which undoubtedly belong to the time of the later Guptas.

Several fragments of carved bricks were also found, but they were all of small size. I was able, however, to recognise

[1] See Plate XXV

the patterns as forming parts of well-known ornaments in the faces of old temples at other places. I also obtained three coins, one being a small silver piece of the Indo-Sassanian type with the letter *m* between the two attendants at the fire-altar and the other two common copper coins of Samanta Deva.

On the western bank of the *Kapâl-mochan* pool there is a small shrine named Râmâsrama, and in the neighbourhood are other holy places named Kaleswar Kund, Narad Kund, and Sat Kund, none of which were visited, as they were said to possess no buildings.

29.—TOPRA OR TOBRA

During my stay in the district of Sadhora I made enquiries daily for the village of *Topra*, or *Tobra*, from which Feroz Shah removed the great monolith of Asoka, which now stands outside the city of Delhi on the south. The story of its removal is related at full length by Shams-i-Sirâj, who as a boy of twelve years of age saw the pillar arrive at Delhi. He states that the pillar was brought from "the village of *Tobra*, in the district of *Salaura* and Khizrabad," near the foot of the hills (Koh-paya). He further describes Khizrabad as being "90 *kos* from Delhi at the foot of the hills," and says that the pillar was removed on a car of 42 wheels to the bank of the Jumna, from whence it was floated down the river to Ferozabad (in Delhi). As this is an exact description of the position of Khizrabad on the Jumna, we must look for *Salora* and *Tobra* somewhere in its neighbourhood. The former is no doubt Sadora, as the great similarity between the Persian letters *l* and *d* leads to constant interchange between them in proper names of which we have a signal example in the Tardajan-Pal for Trilochan-Pal. After repeated enquiries I heard at last of the village of *Topra*, which from its position is, I have no doubt, the very place from which Firoz Shah removed the great monolith that was afterwards known as the Minâr-i-zarîn, or "Golden pillar," on account of the gilt pinnacle which was put on the top of it.

There are two villages named Topra or Tobra, of which the latter only is entered in the Atlas Sheet No. 48 as *Chota Topra*. It is on the high bank of the Râkshi River, 7 miles to the south-west of Jagâdri. The other village of *Bara Topra*, which is 2 miles further to the south-west, stands on the direct line between Ambâla and Sirsâwa, at a distance of only 4 miles from the old Jumnâ at Dâmla. It is 18 miles

to the south of Sâdhora, and 22 miles to the south-west of Khizrabad.

To the east of the village, and on the eastern bank of a large dry tank, there is a long low mound at the foot of which I dug up many large bricks, 13 by 8 by 2 inches. I found also many fragments of large bricks from 2½ to ·4 inches thick, with the usual finger marks upon them, all strong and well burnt. Close by there is a second mound of about the same size, 300 by 200 feet, which has latterly been used as the site of a brick kiln for making small bricks But on digging into one side I found numerous fragments of large old bricks. There are many brick houses in the village, all built of large bricks from these mounds. There is also the tomb of a *Naogaja Pir*, 11 feet 6 inches long, built of the same bricks.

The village now possesses only 100 inhabited houses; but a few years ago there were 250 houses. The decline of the village is attributed chiefly to deaths by fever, as many as 400 people having died, and partly to migration, as the surviving members of many of the families removed to other villages.

The large size of the bricks points to a period before the Christian era; and the presence of the *Naogaja's* tomb shows that the place was most probably on the route of the Muhammadan conquerors. In fact it lies on the *direct* route between Ambala and Sirsâwa, and we know that both Timur and Bâber marched by Sirsâwa. The position of Topra corresponds so well with that of the village noted by Shams-i-Sirâj that I have no doubt whatever of their identity. The vicinity of the Jumna and the near neighbourhood of both Sâdhora and Khizrabad, combined with the absolute identity of name, would be quite sufficient to warrant this conclusion; but when we find that the place also possesses the most clear and distinct traces of antiquity in its mounds of large old bricks, the proof becomes quite irresistible.

30.—SIRSAWA.

Sirsâwa is an old town with a lofty mound situated on the high bank which marks the utmost easterly limit of the Jumna River. It is 10 miles to the north-west of Sahâranpur, and 40 miles to the south-east of Ambâla. The mound is the most conspicuous object in the landscape for many miles around, and more than 350 years ago it attracted the attention of the Emperor Baber when he was encamped on the western bank of the river. In his memoirs he says that

after the second march from Shahabâd he "encamped on the banks of the Jumna opposite to Sirsâwa." * * I crossed the Jumna by a ford, and went to see Sirsâwa. * * There is a fountain, from which a small stream flows; it is rather a pretty place. Terdi Beg Khâksâr praised it highly. I said, 'yours be it;' and in consequence of these praises I bestowed it on Terdi Beg Khâksâr."[1]

In the time of Baber the great mound was a strong brick fort 1,000 feet square, with a deep ditch all round 120 feet broad. In the time of Akbar, Sirsâwa with its brick fort was one of the chief places in the Sahâranpur Sirkâr[2] But long before the British occupation the walls had been dismantled, and the mound was overgrown with jungul. Since the re-occupation of the place all the jungul has been cleared away for firewood. The fort had four large round towers at the corners, of which the north-east bastion still retains the commanding height of 50 feet, while the other three are 40 feet, and the level of the interior not less than 50 feet above the country. The earliest notice of Sirsâwa that I am aware of is by Abu Rihân, who places it at 50 parasangs from Kanauj on the road to Panjâwar. The name is variously spelt as *Sharshâraha*, *Sarshâra*, *Sharsâraha*, in which we have only to substitute the Persian *w* for *r*, and we have *Sarsâwa*. Sir Henry Elliot had made the same identification.

The name of the place is said to have been derived from the last Raja Siras Pâl, who was attacked and defeated by Malik Nâser-uddin from Ghazni. When dying, the Raja gave his daughter to Nâser-uddin, and begged that the fort might hereafter be called by his own name as *Siras-âwa*. This happened upwards of 800 years ago. The siege lasted for three months, and one of the enemy's leaders, Pir Mardâna Shahid, who fell in fight with Sîras Pâl, now lies buried on the top of the north-east bastion. By the people he is more commonly known as "Kilkili Sâheb."

Sirsâwa, or Sirsa-pattan, is celebrated as the birth-place of Bâchal Râni, the mother of Guga Chauhân. Bâchal was generally said to have been the daughter of Jaymal or Jewar, a Tomara Raja; but according to one of my informants the name of her father was Kara, or Kunwar Pâl, who may have been the Raja of Kanauj In the time of Mahmud she married Vacha or Vatsa, the Chauhân Raja of Bâgar-des, or the wild tract of half desert country extending from Hânsi to the

[1] Baber's Memoirs, by Seylen and Earskin, p. 303.
[2] Gladwin's 'Ain Akbari,' Vol. II, p. 254.

Satlej on the west and to Bikaner on the south-west. The capital is said to have been called Dardera, or Dardarera, which Sir Elliot places about 180 miles to the south-west of Hansi. But, according to my own information, it should rather be looked for to the west of Hansi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Marot, along the old course of the Hakra River. Most of this country is now divided between Bikaner and Bahâwalpur. Akbar used playfully to call it jungul-des, but its ancient name was Bâgar-des, and its Raja was commonly known as Bâgari Rao. In the reign[1] of Jahângir, Chaplain Terry calls Bikaner the capital of Bakar. The earliest notice that I have found of Bâgar is in the account of the final campaign of Kutbuddin Aibek against Delhi, when marching from Kobrain *viâ* Hânsi—"the soldiers of Islâm came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bâgar."[2]

The name of Guga's wife is also given as Sila-De and Silan-De, and her father's name as Singa Châhil, of Sirsa Pâtan. *Silan* means "virtuous, beautiful," and *Sirial* is only a variation of the same name.

The story of Guga is known all over Northern India, from the Himâlaya mountains to Narbada. Songs are sung in his praise on every return of his birth-day, and he is worshipped equally by Hindus and by Muhammadans; by the former as *Gugà Chauhân*, the invincible champion of their faith, and by the latter as *Guga Pir* and *Zâhar Pir*, the brave convert to Islamism. He is also, strange to say, more especially revered by the low class Bhangis or sweepers, who celebrate his birth-day by a grand procession with a huge black flag, and the singing of numerous songs in his praise. My own information has been obtained from widely different sources, from Sirsâwa and Sahâranpur, from Agra, Bhatner, and Ludiana, as well as from the Kunets and Bhangis of the hill states round Simla. I will now give a few notes of the information that I have picked up.

The whole legend of Guga is a wild romance from before his birth until the time when he used to visit his wife after his death. The story of his birth is by far the most popular part of his legend. His father Vatsa Raja Chauhan of Bâgar-des had married two sisters of the Tomara tribe named Bâchal and Kâchal, both of whom remained barren for several years.

[1] Mr. Bate in his Hindi Dictionary erroneously states that Bâgar is a "large tract of country in *Mâlwa*, belonging to Râjputs."
[2] Sir H. Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, Vol. II, p. 218, from the Tâj-ul-ma-asir of Hasan Nizâmi.

During a famine the holy Guru Gorakhnâth came to Bâgar-des and took up his residence in the Raja's garden, which at once became quite green. Then Queen Bâchal paid him the most assiduous devotion for twelve years, when her sister Kâchal, dressed in Bâchal's clothes, stood before the Guru and asked for his blessing. The holy man gave her two grains of barley to eat, which would cause her to conceive and bear two sons. Then Queen Bâchal in her "white-bullock carriage" went to *Gebar-ghâti* to wait upon the Guru. As she drew near the holy man asked his disciple, "What woman comes this way?" who replied, "Yesterday an imposter came, Queen Bâchal comes to-day" Then ordered he his disciples to "Let loose their matted locks and turn them into snakes, then if she be an impostor fright will seize her, but if she be really Bâchal she will come fearlessly picking her way." But Bâchal passed unharmed through all the Nâgas, lifting the little ones and stepping over the larger until she stood before the Guru, who suddenly turned his back upon her, and assumed the appearance of a leper. Then circling round the Guru and weeping bitterly, Bâchal said: "For 12 years I have served Brahmâ, and for 12 years I have served thee, and now thou turnest thy face away from me." The Guru answered: "Bâchal, I tell thee avarice is vile." Said Bâchal: "By your feet I swear I never came before to ask a favour; it was my sister who deceived you in my clothes." At once the Guru turned to her with his bright form restored: "Bring forth my bag, the *mai* must have a fruit." But there was nothing in the bag, and the Guru laid him down to sleep apparently, but down to the lower world he went at once to visit Vasuki, king of the snakes. Said Vasuki: "Why have you left your *kajali-ban?*" "I am troubled for *Silawanti*, Queen of Bâgar-des." Then the snake king gave him a piece of *Gugal* gum, and the Guru waking gave the gum to Bâchal. Then Bâchal laughed: "Can Gugal procure a son?" Said he, "What the perfect one grants cannot be fruitless." "My sister got a larger fruit," said Bâchal, to which the Guru answered: "Whatever your sister begets will be the servants of your son."

Then Bâchal mixed the Gugal and drank it, and conceived. Three months passed away and with the fourth came on the quickening, which when her sister heard she took some arsenic, and mixing it with curd brought it to Bâchal as a cooling draught. The simple-minded Bâchal took the poison, but the unborn Guga caused her to vomit it,

and showed her in a dream her sister's crime, and bade her go back to her father. So Bâchal started in her "white-ox carriage," but Kâchal, wishing that a snake should bite the oxen, called on her brother *Pilo-Purya*, the black Nâga, to bite one of her sister's oxen as she journeyed home The Nâga came from underneath the ground and bit one of the oxen as he grazed. Then Bâchal sat and wept her hopeless fate. "How shall I reach my father's house, or get to Bâgar des, where the Guru's disciple would cure my bitten ox?' Said the unborn Guga, "Mother weep not; I am a perfect disciple." Then Bâchal bound the ox's foot with a thread, and straightway it revived and began again to graze With joy her heart leapt at conceiving such a son, and by his counsel she at once returned to her home.

When eight full months had passed away and the ninth day of Bhâdon badi had arrived, then Bâchal felt the birth-pains, and a Brahman was called to record the hour of birth, and after calculation the boy was called Guga.

When Kâchal heard the news she grew very sad that the young Guga should deprive her son of the throne. But what is destined to take place cannot be helped.

Then a sandal-wood Pingora, or swinging cradle, ornamented with gold and hung with silken ropes, was brought from Bâgar-des, and people flocked from all sides to admire its beauty. And Kâchal came with poisoned breasts to give suck to her nephew Guga; but the child perceived her treachery and sucked with so much force that her life's blood was drawn from her, and so she passed away to Surga-lok (*i.e.*, *Swarga*, or heaven)

Although it is not so stated in this account, yet it is certainly the popular belief that the name of *Guga* was given to the child because he was produced by the *Gugal* gum. I notice also that Bâchal is called *Silawanti*, which means simply the "chaste or beautiful," a title that is likewise given to *Siriyal*, the wife of Guga, in the form of Silan-de.

As Guga grew up, his two cousins Arjun and Surjan, the sons of Kâchal, demanded a share of the kingdom and attacked him, with the assistance of the Raja of Delhi. But Guga defeated them, and cut off their heads, which he took to Bâgar-des and presented to his mother. Then Bâchal was angry, and in her haste she bade her son go to the place to which he had sent her sister's sons. So Guga departed, and putting his face to the ground besought the earth to receive him into her bosom But the goddess

refused, and told him that the earth would not open to receive him until he had become a Muhammadan. Then Guga went to Mekka and became a disciple of Ratan Hâji, and on his return the earth opened and received him into her bosom sitting on his black mare Javâdia. After this disappearance it is said that Guga used every night to visit his wife Siriyal, and that she prepared for his reception by dressing herself in her best array and finest ornaments, much to the displeasure of her mother-in-law Bâchal.

This is the Muhammadan version of Guga's end, from which he received his title of *Zâhir-Pir*, or the "manifested Saint," because he appeared to his wife after death. But according to the Hindu account he was killed in battle with the Muhammadans in one of Mahmud's invasions, and as every man who dies a violent death is worshipped as a *Bír*, or demon, so Bâchal's son was made into Guga Bir, amongst the Hindus, which by a trifling change became Guga Pir amongst the Muhammadans. The belief in his re-appearance was equally strong amongst the Hindus, but it took quite another form, for instead of showing himself to his wife nightly, he burst suddenly forth from a rock fully armed and mounted upon his favourite horse Javâdia. It is in this form that he is represented in the colossal statue cut out of the solid rock at the ancient capital of Mandor in Rajputâna.[1]

The short songs in praise of Guga are very numerous. They are sung by the women all over Northern India in celebration of his birth-day, and it is said that most of them are also the compositions of women. The following is one of the short songs commonly sung at the *celebration* of Guga's birth-day, but which is addressed to him under his Muhammadan title of Zâhir Pir. His shrines under this name are much frequented by the lower classes over all the country from Sirsâwa to Ujâin, or from the foot of the Himâlayas to the banks of the Narbada.

Song to Zahir Pir.

Bhar Bhâdon ki ren andheri nômi ki rât,
Dâlungi men chandan choki, punchungi do bât,
Bâlungi men jhabarak divalâ Zâhir ho ujiyâlâ,
Dhan! Dhan! He Bâchal Râm, jin ye putar jâyâ
Dhan! Dhan! He Siriyal Râni, jin yebar pâyâ
Râja ki nagari, men kon sowe, kon jâge?
Jâge pisanhâri Janam ki dukhyâri.
Aur Jâge bûr burèli, bâlak ki mahtâri.

[1] See Tod's Rajputana, Vol. I, p. 624, for a description and sketch of the statue.

The following is a literal translation of this song—

On the ninth night of the dark half of Bhâdon,
I will set up a sandal-wood stand, and sing a few words,
And light a four-wicked lamp in honour of Zâhir,
Blest! Blest! is Bâchal Râni, who gave birth to such a son
Blest! Blest! is Siryal Râni, who got such a husband.
In the city of the Raja, who sleepeth, who waketh?
Awake are the women grinding the weary mill!
Awake are old women, and women labouring with child!

The last lines afford a most convincing proof that this song was the composition of a woman. No man, and certainly no Hindu man, would have thought of the weary lot of the three classes of women who alone of all the Raja's subjects could not sleep on such a happy occasion.

One of the best known and most popular of the songs professes to be the expression of his mother's feelings when her son was preparing for battle. It is called—

GIT ZAHIR PIR KO

1.—Nhaë to dhoe Zâhir Kaprâ ao pahre—
Age se Kwâri Kanyâ aë ri—
Shamshir larega.
Tera to Kwâri Kanyâ byâh Karâdun
Jo-mera Zâhir Jita âwe ri
Shamshir larega.
2.—Nhaë to dhoë Zâhir Kapra ao pahre
Age se andhi andhâ aë ri
Shamshir larega.
Toe to andhi andhâ nettar dûngi
Jo mera Zâhir Jita âwe ri
Shamshir larega.
3.—Nhaë to dhoë Zâhir Kaprâ ao pahre
Age se bânjh bajhota aë ri
Shamshir larega.
Toë to bânjh bajhata puttar dûngi
Jo mera Zâhir Jita âwe ri
Shamshir larega.

In the following version I have adhered very closely to the original, and I believe that I have given the general meaning of the words very fairly. The refrain of *Shamshi larega*, which means literally "the sword will fight," I under stand to mean that "the sword is ready drawn."

SONG TO ZAHIR PIR.

1.—Maidens don your best array,
Zâhir is ready for the fray,
Draw swords to battle.

A husband to each maid I'll give,
Should my Zâhir come back alive;
Draw swords to battle
2.—Come all ye who have lost your sight,
Zâhir is ready for the fight;
Draw swords to battle.
Eyes shall every one obtain,
Should my Zâhir come back again;
Draw swords to battle.
3.—Come childless man and barren wife,
Zâhir is ready for the strife;
Draw swords to battle.
A son to each of you I will give,
Should my Zâhir come back alive;
Draw swords to battle

I close this account of Guga with an extract from Sir Henry Elliot's notice of the famous Saint :—

"He is called by the Mahrattas Zâhir Pir, and is with them a favourite saint. The local tradition respecting him is that he was the son of Chauhân Rajput called Vachâ, according to some; according to others, Jewer, whose wife Bâchal, a Tuar, produced him, after being long barren, at the kind intercession of Gorakhnâth. There is a clan of Musalman Chauhâns even now resident in the neighbourhood of his tomb (see Chahil); the Gogâwats of the desert are descended from him, and the *Gogadeo-ka-thal* is called after his name. His territory extended from Hânsi to the Garra (Ghara), and his capital was Mehera on that river In a quarrel about land he killed his two brothers, on which account he drew down upon himself the anger of his mother To escape her imprecations he fled to the jungles, and there wished that the earth might open and swallow him up, but a voice from heaven declared that he could not have the satisfaction of being buried alive, horse and all, unless he uttered the Kalama and became a Musalman He appears to have had no difficulty in doing this, upon which the earth opened before him and he leaped into its bosom.

"His claim to saintship are not very distinct. He is said to have been a contemporary of Prithe Raja, and to have fought with desperate valour against the Mahomedans; but there is more reason to suppose that he must have contended with the earlier Ghaznivide monarchs, for several favourite ballads relate how he fell with his forty-five sons and sixty nephews, opposing the Great Mahmud on the banks of the Garra. The above is an abridged account of the tradition, with the omission of all the detailed particulars, some of which are interesting.

31 —KURUKSHETRA.

The famous battle-field of Kurukshetra, where the Kauravas and Pândavas fought for eighteen days, is situated

Elliot's Glossary *in voce* "Goga Pir."

on the south side of Thanesar, 30 miles to the south of Ambala, and 40 miles to the north of Pânipat[1] It was called *Kurukshetra*, "the field of Kuru," after Kuru, the progenitor of the *Kauravas*, who is said to have become an ascetic on the bank of the Narbida Tâl close to the town of Thanesar The *chakra* or district of Kurukshetra is also called *Dharmakshetra*, or the "holy land;" and this name is certainly as old as the 7th century, as Hwen Thsang calls it "*le champ du bonheur*."[2] In his time the extent of the *chakra* was 200 *li*, or 5 yojanas, at his valuation of 40 *li* to the yojana. I understand his expression of "*tout autour de la capitale, il y a un espace de deux cents li que les habiatnts du pays ont appelé la torre du bonheur*," to mean 200 *li* on all four sides, or 5 yojanas each side. This would make the whole circuit equal to 20 yojanas, which is the very same that is given in the Mahâbhârata under the description of *Samanta-panchaka*, "on every side five."

The oldest accounts of Kurukshetra are contained in the great poem of the Mahâbhârata. In this its boundaries are concisely stated as follows:—

> "The tract between Ratnuk, Aratnuk, Râma-hrada, and Bhachakruk, is called *Kurukshetra*, *Samantapanchaka*, and the northern *Bedi* of Brahma."

In another passage it is further described as lying between the Saraswati and Drishadwati Rivers:—

> "South from Saraswati, and north from Drishadwati, they who dwell in Kurukshetra live in paradise."[3]

The Drishadwati is also mentioned in the Vâmana Purâna as connected with the holy region of Kurukshetra "They were making the great sacrifice of *Satranta* in the wide region of Kurukshetra, on the banks of the *Drishadwati*, esteemed holy on account of its virtues." In the code of Manu the same limits are also assigned to Brahmavarta, which is equivalent to the Bedi of Brahmâ mentioned in the first extract. Manu says—

> "That region made by the gods, which is between the Saraswati and Drishadwati Rivers, is called Brahmavartta."[4]

[1] Mr. Talboys Wheeler, in his Mâhâbharata. p. 274. note, says that "The plain of Kurukshetra is generally identified with the field of Pânipat." This astounding error is rivalled, if not exceeded, by his location of Panchâla in Southern Rajputana; see his map.

[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, Vol. II, pp. 212, 213.

[3] See the originals in my Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, pp. 214-215.

[4] See the original passage in my Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 215

Of these two rivers the Saraswati is well known, and still retains its old name in its spoken form of Sarsuti. The other river is, by the universal consent of all enquirers, both Brahmans and Europeans, identified with the Râkshi. In the Mahâbhârata also another river, the Kausiki, is mentioned as an affluent of the Drishadwati, and their confluence is noted as one of the holy places. Now the *Kausiki sangam*, or "Kausiki junction," still exists near the village of Balu on the Râkshi River, 17 miles to the south of Thanesar. I think therefore that there can be no reasonable doubt that the modern Râkshi is the representative of the Drishadwati.

But great changes must have taken place in the beds of these rivers even in comparatively recent times. Both are now broad sandy channels; but Drishadwati means the "rocky" or "stony;" and the Sarsuti is described by Utbi in the time of Mahmud Ghazni's invasion as having a bottom full of *large stones*, with precipitous banks and impetuous stream.[1] Both the Ghaghar and the Sarsuti, which have their sources in the Dûns or valleys to the north of the Siwâlik range, are liable to sudden floods which rush down, just as Utbi describes, with "*fearful impetuosity*" that sweeps everything before it. During the reign of Islam Shâh the defeated Niâzis who had crossed the Ghaghar near Ambâla before the battle were drowned in great numbers in attempting to ford the stream, which had suddenly become a swollen torrent. In January 1840, when marching between Sunâm and Hânsi, I saw the Ghaghar not less than 17 feet deep and running with a strong current. I know also that the stratum of sand in the Ambâla district is not deep, and that it overlies a deposit of boulder stones. In early times it seems probable that the beds of all these streams may have been deeper perhaps, even as deep as the stratum of boulders, and that they have since become silted up with the enormous quantities of coarse sand which they bring down from the hills at every flood.

The region of Kurukshetra is said to have been watered either by seven or by nine rivers. The names of the nine are—1, Saraswati; 2, Vaitarini; 3, Apagâ, or Aughvati; 4, Mandâkini Ganga; 5, Madhusrava; 6, Ansumati; 7, Kausiki; 8, Drishtavati; and 9, Hiranyavati or Drishtavati. Of these the Saraswati and the Drishtavati or Drishadwati have already been noticed. The Apagâ or Aughvati is a branch

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, Vol. II, p. 40.

of the Chitang which separates from the main stream a few miles to the west of Ládwa, and flows past Pulwal to Pabnáwa, where it is lost in the sands. Its whole length is about 25 miles. The Kausiki is a branch of the Rákshi. The others I have not been able to identify. But there are several important streams at the present day, such as the Márkanda, the Nakti, and Chitang or Chatang, of which the ancient names are quite unknown. The Sarsuti and its branches have also been so interlaced and inosculated with one another by Firoz Shah to fill his canals, that the people have completely confused their names, so that there are now no less than three different Sarsutis.

There is, I believe, some mistake about the number of nine rivers, as the Hindus invariably assign seven branches to all their rivers. Such are the *Sapta Sindhu*, the *Sapta Gandaki*, and the *Sapta Kausiki*, &c., to which I may add, as bearing upon the question, that there is a place of pilgrimage in Kurukshetra still called *Sapta Saraswati*. Amongst the nine names I suspect also that No. 4, the Madhusrava, or "honey dropper," is a mistake, as it is the name of one of the holiest pools in the bed of the Saraswati at Prithudaka. It seems probable also that the *Vaitarani* may be only another term for the Drishadwati or *Rákshi*, as it was the name of the mother of the Rákshasas. By omitting these two names the branches of the Saraswati are reduced to the orthodox number of seven.

But the river that flows past Thanesar has always been known as the holy Saraswati, and as this formed the northern boundary of Kurukshetra, the southern boundary must have been the Rákshi. In the Mahábhárata the four corners of the sacred region are called *Ratnuk* to the north-east, *Aratnuk* to the north-west, *Ráma-hrada* to the south-west, and *Bachakruk* to the south-east. In the modern Mahátmyas the names are given somewhat differently, as *Ratna Yaksha* to the north-east, *Aratnuk Yaksha* to the north-west, *Kapila Yaksha* to the south-west, and *Bachakruk Yaksha* to the south-east. In this series the four names belong to four *Yakshas*, or demons, who are said to have sung and danced with joy during the battle, while they drank the blood of the slain. The south-west corner is placed at *Rámray*, 5 miles to the south-west of Jhind, where there are said to be both a *Ráma-hrada* and a *Kapila* tirath. The south-east corner is placed at *Sinkh*, very nearly midway between Jhind and Pánipat, on the bank of a stream which is said to be the old bed

of the Râkshi or Drishadwati. There is still a Yaksha Kund at Sinkh. The north-east corner is at Ratna Yaksha or Ratan Jakh, close to Pipli on the Sarasuti And lastly the north-west corner is placed at *Ber*, or *Baher*, to the west-north-west of Kaithal, where there is also a Yaksha kund. According to these boundary points the circuit of the *Chakra* or holy region of Kurukshetra is as nearly as possible 20 yojanas, or 160 miles, as follows[1] :—

		Miles.
North side from Ber to Ratna Jakh	...	40
East side from Ratna Jakh to Sinkh	...	54
South side from Sinkh to Ramrây	...	25
West side from Ramrây to Ber ...	...	41
TOTAL	...	160

The estimate of the size of the region of Kurukshetra agrees with the other name given in the Mahâbhârata or *Samanta panchaka*, "on every side five," or 20 yojanas all round the four sides.

Within this circuit of 160 miles there are popularly said to be 360 holy sites, most of which are connected with the names of the heroes of the Mahâbhârata. Many of these are no doubt genuine ancient places, as attested by their high mounds and brick ruins. But the greater number appear to me to be the inventions of modern days. According to the Mahâtmyas, of which only one is said to be old, the holy places had lain desolate for several centuries after the Muhammadan conquest, when a *Dandi* or mendicant, named Râma Chandra Swâmi, came from Kâsi to Kurukshetra. He was grieved to see the desolation, and determined to stop there and try to restore the holy places. But as even the sites of many were unknown, he professed to have obtained a knowledge of them in his dreams, and accordingly he wrote a book describing them, which is called the Mahâtmya of 6,000 *slokas* and also the "Dandi Mahâtmya." Long afterwards a Pandit of Thanesar, named Banmâli, traced all the holy sites from the positions given by the Dandi whose account is now accepted as genuine by all Brahmans, although his only authority for the identifications was a dream.

The whole region is divided into seven *bans*, or forests, but the people do not quite agree as to the names. From two independent sources I obtained the following lists, which

[1] See the accompanying map of Kurukshetra in Plate XXVI.

together contain nine different names. Solan-ban is added from other information :—

I.	II
1.—Prithu-ban.	———
2.—Kâm-ban.	Kâm-ban.
3.—Aditi-ban.	Aditi-ban.
4—Sit-ban.	Sit-ban.
5.—Phalaki-ban.	Phalaki-ban
6.—Madhu-ban.	Madhu-ban.
7.—Vyas-ban.	Vyâs-ban.
8.— ———	Sûrya-ban.
9.—Solan-ban.	———

I take the first list to be the correct one, as the second omits *Prithu-ban*, in which the famous *Prithu-daka* is situated. On looking at the map it will be seen that the names of *Surya-ban* and *Solan-ban* belong to the two outside-forests, and that a smaller *Chakra* containing seven forests might be made by leaving them out altogether. This contracted chakra would be of the much more reasonable size, of little more than 20 miles on each side, or about 90 miles in circuit. This smaller space would, however, include all the famous places of pilgrimage, as well as the great battle-field itself. On the west it would extend to the farthest point of Prithudaka, and on the south to Dachor. And authority is not wanting for this smaller extent of the holy region, as the *Kos* or *Krosa* of the whole of North-west India, from Delhi to the Indus, is as nearly as possible 1¼ mile, or 7,040 feet, agreeing with the smaller valuation of 4,000 cubits, as set down in the native books[1] The five yojanas forming the side of the holy region would thus be reduced to about 25 miles, and the whole circuit to about 100 miles, which I have marked in the map by thin dotted lines. This limitation would exclude both Kaithal and Jhind, both of which I strongly suspect have been added to the Chakra in recent times to gratify the Sikh Rajas of those places. I may add that there is a *Râma-hrada* near the Râkshi, which is one of the four corners named in the Mahâbhârata, 17 miles to the south of Thanesâr, from which point the boundary would incline to the south-west to Dâchor along the old bed of the Râkshi.

Before describing the sites of the different places of pilgrimage, the following brief outline of the principal events of the war will perhaps be found useful.

[1] See Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary in V. Krosa.

Duryodhana of Hastinapura, the Raja of the Kauravas, having determined to fight the Pândavas, summoned all his followers to meet on the plain of Kurukshetra, where his army encamped facing to the west, with its right resting on the Saraswati River and its left at Amin, 5¼ miles to the south-south-east of Thanesar. On this flank, which was exposed towards the enemy advancing from Delhi, a covering trench was dug, and at a council of war Bhishma was appointed general of the Kaurava army.

The Pândavas marched from Delhi to Kurukshetra under Yudhisthira and his brethren, who chose their brother-in-law Drishta-dyumna for their general. On reaching Kurukshetra they encamped to the west of the lake facing the Kaurava army on the east with their left flank resting on the Saraswati River, and their right near Kirmânch. On this flank they dug a covering trench.

The fight lasted for 18 days, but the details given in the Mahâbhârata are confined to the personal conflicts between the great chiefs. For nine days the battle raged furiously, with great slaughter on both sides, but without any decisive result. On the tenth day, however, Bhishma was killed by Arjuna, and Drona was appointed to the command of the Kauravas. For two days there was nothing decisive, but on the 13th day Abhimanyu, the youthful son of Arjuna, having broken the ranks of the Kauravas with his chariot, was surrounded and slain by Duhsâsana. This took place at Amîn, which is said to be a contraction of Abhimanyu, and which, it will be remembered, was on the left of the Kaurava position. On the 14th day Bhurisravas was killed through the treachery of Arjuna, and the place where he fell is now called Bhurê or Bhore, by a contraction of his name. On the same day Jayadratha was slain in single combat with Arjuna. On the 15th day Drona, the general of the Kauravas, was treacherously killed by Drishta-dyumna, when he was unarmed. On the 16th day Karna took the command of the Kauravas, and on the 17th day when his chariot was driven by Salya, Raja of the Madras, he pursued Yudhishthira, and pulled him off his horse, but spared his life on account of his cowardice. Duhsâsana, the slayer of Abhimanyu, was killed by Bhima, who drank his blood Then Karna driven by Salya was attacked by Arjuna, driven by Krishna. Again the Pândavas were guilty of treachery, and Karna was killed by Arjuna while trying to extricate one of his chariot wheels, which had sunk in the mud On the 18th and last day Salya became the general

of Kauravas and was slain by Yudhisthira. Then Duryodhana fled, but was afterwards discovered and taunted into a single combat with Bhima. This fight took place in the very middle of Kurukshetra, to the south of the lake. Once more the Pândava combatant was guilty of treachery, and Bhima broke the thigh of Duryodhana against the rules of mace fighting, which positively forbad all blows below the waist. Then the Pândavas proceeded to the camp of the Kauravas, and took possession of all the jewels and spoils of Duryodhana. There also they spent the night. But whilst they slept, Aswathâma, the son of Drona, with Kripa and Kritavarman, the only chiefs of the Kauravas who had survived the 18th day's fight, stole quietly into the camp of the Pândava and slew Drishta-dyumna, the general, and the five young sons of the five Pândava brothers, and escaped free in the confusion. When the heads of the slaughtered Pândavas were brought to Duryodhana he was at first overjoyed, but when he saw that the heads were those of the sons and not of the hated fathers, he died from sheer vexation.

The war being thus ended by the general destruction of so many warriors and their followers on both sides, the few survivors, attended by the relatives of the slain, assembled on the plain of Kurukshetra to perform the funeral rites. There came the old blind Raja Dhritarâshtra, the father of Duryodhana, attended by Yudhishthira, and all the widows of the departed chiefs, of Duryodhana and Karna and Abhimanyu, accompanied by Kunti, the mother of Karna, then Vidura, the uncle of the Kauravas and Pândavas, and Sanjaya, the charioteer of the Mahâraja, and Yuyutsu, the only surviving son of the Mahâraja, and Dhaumya, the family priest of the Pândavas, all went out together to the field of battle And they collected a large quantity of sandal and other odoriferous woods and sweet oils to form a pile on which to burn the bodies of the principal warriors, such as Duryodhana, Karna, Abhimanyu, Drona, and others; and they also collected many thousand mule-loads of faggots and oil to burn the bodies of those of inferior note. And they ordered all the surviving charioteers of those Rajas who had been slain to go through the plain and point out the corpses of their respective masters, so that such Rajas might be burned separately according to their rank. And they took with them a thousand cart-loads of cloths, some fine and other coarser, to wrap up the dead bodies before burning. Then Vidura, and those appointed with him, went over the plain of Kurukshetra; and they first

took up with all reverence and ceremony the corpse of Duryodhana and burned it. Next the Rajas of the first rank were wrapped in fine linen and burned with perfumes; and amongst these were the other sons of Dhritarâshra, and the sons of Draupadî, and Abhimanyu, and Drona, and Karna, and the greater Rajas, such as Raja Draupada and his son Dhrishtadyumna, and Raja Virâta, and Raja Jayaratha, and Raja Sâlya, and many others. When this burning had been accomplished, they kindled a mighty fire and burned all the remaining bodies therein."[1]

The site where the dead bodies of the slain are said to have been burned is now known by the name of *Asthipur*, or the "place of bones." It was seen by Hwen Thsang in A.D 635, who says that the corpses had been heaped up like "straw-ricks," and that "their bones still covered the plain."[2] There are no bones visible at the present day at Asthipur; and many of the people do not even know the position of the "place of bones." But the field of Kurukshetra would appear to have been famous long before the time of the Pândavas. Here Parasurâma slew the Kshatryas, and made ablution with their blood, and here Pururavas, having lost the nymph "Urvasi," at length met his celestial bride at Kurukshetra, "sporting with four other nymphs of heaven in a lake beautiful with lotuses" But the story of the horse-headed *Dadhyânch*, or *Dadhicha*, is perhaps even older than the legend of Pururavas, as it is alluded to in the Rig Veda. "With his bones Indra slew ninety times nine *Vritras*." The scholiast explains this by saying that the thunderbolt of Indra was formed of the horses' head, with which the Aswins had supplied the headless Dadhyânch that he might teach his science to them. According to the legend, Dadhyânch during his lifetime had been the terror of the Asuras, who, after his death, multiplied and overspread the whole earth. Then Indra, inquiring what had become of him, and whether nothing of him had been left behind, was told that the horses' head was still in existence, but no one knew where. Search was made for it, and it was found in the lake *Saryanâvat* on the skirts of Kurukshetra." I infer that this is only another name for the great tank of Kurukshetra, and consequently that the sacred pool is at least as old as the Rig Veda itself."[3]

[1] Wheeler's Mahâbhârata, pp. 364-65.
[2] Julien's Hwen Thsang, Vol. II, p. 214.
[3] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, pp. 218-19.

After the capture of Thanesar by Mahmud of Ghazni and the destruction of the famous shrine of Vishnu called Chakra Swâmi, the only mention that I can find of the place for several centuries is the recovery by the Raja of Delhi in A.D. 1043, during the reign of Modud, after which it probably remained in the hands of the Hindus until after the final battle between Prithi Râj and Muhammad Bin-Sâm, when the forts of Sarsuti, Samâna, Kohrâm, and Hânsi submitted to the conquerors. This took place in A.H. 588, or A.D 1192, and from that date down to the time of Sikandar Lodi, I have not been able to find any notice of Thanesar or Kurukhet. It was no doubt completely ruined by the early Muhammadan kings, and I see no reason to doubt the statement of the Hindu Mahâtmyas, that it remained desolate for several centuries. It must, however, have been restored before the time of Sikandar Lodi, as that bigoted Prince proposed during his father's life-time to make a raid upon Thanesar for the purpose of putting to death all the pilgrims who had assembled to bathe at Kurukhet. The story related in the Tarikh-i-Daüdi is as follows: "Before his accession, when a crowd of Hindus had assembled in immense numbers at Kurukhet, he wished to go to Thanesar for the purpose of putting them all to death. One of his courtiers represented to him that it would be better to consult the learned before doing this. Sultân Sikandar caused the doctors to assemble, and questioned the chief of them, whose name was Mian Abdulla, of Ajodhan. This Maliku-l-Ulamâ asked the king what there was in that place (Thanesar) He replied: 'There is a tank in which all the infidels are accustomed to bathe.' The Maliku-l-Ulamâ said: 'Since when have they been in the habit of doing so?' Nizam Khan replied that it was an ancient custom. Miân Abdulla asked what the Muhammadan sovereigns who had preceded him had been in the habit of doing. The Sultân answered that up to this time they had left the Hindus unmolested. The Maliku-l-Ulama then assured the king that it would be very improper for him to destroy an ancient idol-temple, and that he ought not to for bid the accustomed rite of performing their ablutions in the tank. When this conversation had lasted a short time, the Sultân placed his hand on his dagger, and exclaimed: 'You side with infidels. I will first put an end to you, and then massacre the infidels at Kurukhet!' Mian Abdulla said: 'Every one's life is in the hand of God—no one can die without His command: whoever enters the presence of a

tyrant must beforehand prepare himself for death, let what may happen! When you asked me, I gave you an answer in conformity with the precepts of the Prophet; if you have no reverence for them, what is the use of inquiring?' Sultân Sikandar's wrath was slightly appeased, and he said: 'If you had permitted me to do this, many thousands of Musalmans would have been placed in easy circumstances by it.'"[1] Here we have the Muhammadan doctrines of the propagation of religion and the plunder of infidels; or God and Mammon joined together in the most naked and unblushing way.

From that time down to the reign of Akbar, the holy field of Kurukshetra was frequented by thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India. According to Abul Fazl, Thanesar then possessed a brick fort; and a very curious account is given in the Tabakât-i-Akbari of the assemblage of pilgrims on the bank of the lake in A.H. 974, or A.D. 1567.[2] "When the Emperor arrived at Thanesar, there was an assemblage of *Jogîs* and *Sannyâsis* on the banks of a lake called Kurukhet. This is a sacred place of the Brahmans, and on occasion of eclipses the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion, and the people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, and jewels and stuffs, upon the Brahmans. Many of them threw themselves into the water, and the *Jogis* and *Sannyâsis* were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the Emperor, seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *Sannyâsis* were between 200 and 300 in number, and the *Jogis*, who wear only rags, were over 500. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by the Emperor's order some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes, and went to support the *Sannyâsis*, who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued, and many were killed. The Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *Jogis* were defeated, and the *Sannyâsis* were victors."

At a later date the holy shrines of Kurukshetra are said to have been desecrated by order of Aurangzeb, who built a castle on the island in the lake called Mughalpâra, from which his soldiers could fire upon any venturesome pilgrims who came to bathe. But with the decline of the Mughal empire, and the ascendancy of the Sikhs, many of the old shrines have been restored, and new shrines have been built,

[1] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, by Dowson, Vol. IV, pp. 439-40.
[2] *Idem*, Vol. V, p 318.

to which thousands of pilgrims resort at all times of the year. But the great gatherings take place at the time of eclipses. One of these I witnessed on the 22nd March 1879, when the roads leading to Thanesar were thronged with people just like the streets of a city.

In the following list of the places of pilgrimage included within the *Chakra*, or holy circuit of Kurukshetra, I have inserted all the names that I have been able to pick up from various sources. Many of them have no connection with the heroes of the Mahâbhârata, such, for instance, as the numerous temples dedicated to Siva, and the numerous tanks dedicated to the Sun. But I was afraid to make any selection, lest in my ignorance I should omit some important place; and as the bare list of the names does not occupy much space, I have thought it best to give the whole of them. I have arranged the list alphabetically according to the names of the *places* where the different shrines are situated, as I have found by experience that it is much more convenient to have all the names of the shrines belonging to one locality brought together under the name of the place, than to have them scattered about under the various initials of their own names.

[*N. B.*—In this list the letter T stands for *Tiraths*, or place of pilgrimage.]

Agad, or *Agamâwat*.—Three places of pilgrimage named Pushpaka T, Dasaratha T, and Agama T, from the last of which the place derives its name. It is on the eastern boundary of the *Chakra*, 11 miles to the west of Karnal.

Ambhana.—Havya Tirath.

Amin, or *Abhimanyu-Khera*, derives its name from Abhimanyu, the youthful son of Arjuna, who was killed by Jayadratha inside the Kaurava camp in front of Amin. The place is also called *Chakrabhyû*, because the Kauravas here "formed in a circle" to surround Abhimanyu. Amin is a large and lofty mound, 5 miles to the south-south-east of Thanesar. It is about 2,000 feet in length from north to south by 800 feet in breadth, with a height of from 25 to 30 feet. On the top there is a small village called Amin. The places of pilgrimage are a kund and temple dedicated to Aditi, and a kund and temple dedicated to Surya, or the sun. Here Aditi is said to have seated herself in ascetic abstraction to obtain a son, and here accordingly she obtained her wish and gave birth to Surya. All women who wish for male children pay their devotions at the temple of Aditi on Sunday (Adityawâr), and afterwards bathe in the Suraj kund.

Asnipura, near *Aujas Ghât*, 1 mile to the west of Thanesar—Aujas Tirath, where Kârtikeya gave the *tilak* to Prithi Raja.

Asthipura, or the "Place of Bones;" *Vata Tirath*, or the "Banian-tree pilgrimage." This tree is said to have stood on the spot where the bodies of all the slain in the 18 days of battle between the Kauravas and Pândavas were collected and burned. The site is to the west of Thanesar and to the south of Aujas Ghat. Bones of large size were still to be seen here in the time of Hwen Thsang. Whatever existed on this site was long ago swept away by the Muhammadans, who built a Madrasa or college on the ruins, which has also disappeared, but the mound is still known by the name of *Madrasa Tila*. I made several excavations in this mound, which brought to light an extensive platform of unbaked bricks still 364 feet in length, besides many remains of walls and fragments of terra-cotta sculptures. The mound is 700 feet long by 500 feet broad. The unbaked bricks were 14¾ by 8 by 4½ inches. I found only one carved brick, but there were numerous fragments of stone, several carved, all of which looked as if they had been fractured by fire. The bricks were of several sizes, from 13 to 15 inches in length, by 9 and 10 inches in breadth, and from 2 to 3½ inches in thickness. Amongst the stone fragments there was a half life-size head of Siva as Trilochana, and a larger head and body of a female crouching. The terra-cottas also were broken, but I obtained one with two figures wrestling of which only the lower portion is missing. The figures are distinguished by long hair and curly hair, and the expression of pain on the curly-haired wrestler is well marked, although much exaggerated.[1] At some distance to the north-east there is a small mound called *Dhira*, 150 feet in diameter at base, and 80 feet at top with a height of 8 feet.

Bahlolpura.—Parâsara Tirath, where Parâsara performed asceticism.

Balavati—Vedavati Tirath.

Balu, 9 miles to the west of Karnâl, and 17 miles to south of Thanesar, Kausiki Sangam T., at the junction of the Kausiki and Drishadwati Rivers.

Banpura.—Sri Kunj Tirath.

Berâh.—Vârâh T., or the Boar Incarnation of Vishnu.

Bârâs, 2 miles to east of Basthali; Konti T., in honour of Kunti, the mother of Five Pândavas, also Surya-Kund, Chandra-Kûpa, and Tilottama T.

Barasola.—Bansamula Tirath.

Barat.—Bindu Tirath.

Basthali, or *Vyâsasthala*, 16 miles to west of Karnâl and 17 miles to south-south-west of Thanesar. Here, according to the Brahma Purâna, the Rishi Vyâsa was visited by the nine sages, Kasyapa, Jamadagni; Bharadwaja, Gautama, Vasishta, Jaimini, Dhaumia, Mârkandeya, and Valmiki.[2] Here also is the Kindat Kûpa Tirath.

Ber, on the Sarsuti, 36 miles to the west of Thanesar, and 22 miles to the west of Pehoa. This is the north-west *corner* of the holy Chakra, and here accordingly there is a Yakshakund, where dwelt

[1] See Plate XXVII for the drawing of this group.
[2] Vans Kennedy's Researches in Hindu Mythology, p. 135, *note*.

the Guardian Yaksha of the north-west corner. The name is frequently written Behr, but as the place is said to be situated in the midst of a forest of jujube trees, *Badari*, or *Ber*, the proper spelling would appear to be *Ber*.

Bhor or *Bhoré*, 8 miles to the west of Thanesar; Surya Kund, and Bhurisrava Tank, or Bhurisaras. On the bank of the latter the young Kaurava warrior Bhurisravas was treacherously slain by Arjuna Pândava. Bhor or Bhore is a large village on a mound just half-way between Thanesar and Pehoa. The houses are all built of large old bricks, 12¾ by 9½ by 2 inches. I have already given the story of the death of Bhurisravas from the Mahâbhârata. The following is the account which I received on the spot: "Bhurisrava, the son of Somaditya, Raja of Benares, died here. The village is named *Bhor* after him; Arjun struck off both his arms with an arrow. It is said that an eagle (*gidh*, or vulture) flew away with one of the arms to the west where Shujâh Bâdshâh afterwards reigned. On this arm was an armlet with the Koh-i-nûr diamond, which was afterwards taken by Ranjit Singh, and is now with Queen Victoria.

When Bhurisrava first came to Kurukshetra he intended to have joined the Kauravaṣ. He was met by Krishna, who asked him, "Why have you come here with only three arrows?" He replied that three arrows were sufficient to annihilate a whole army, and that with one arrow he could pierce every single leaf of a tree. Krishna pointed out a tree to be shot at, and at the same time concealed one of the leaves of the tree under his foot. The arrow was shot, and all the leaves of the tree were found to have been pierced as well as the leaf under Krishna's foot, although the foot itself was not hurt. Krishna thought that it would be very unlucky for the Pandavas to have so powerful an archer against them. So he assumed the form of a Brahman and asked Bhurisrava to give him his head. The archer consented, but with the condition that his head should be placed on the pinnacle of Krishna's chariot, so that he might behold the fight which he had come purposely to see. His head was cut off at once and placed on the pinnacle of the chariot, and the Pandavas were at once victorious."

Bramahdat.—Brahmavarta Tirath.

Burasyâm, 7 miles to the south of Thanesar. The holy places are Surya Kund, Vishunpada, Jyeshtâsrama, and Konti Tirath. At the last spot the Rishis recited the *git* to Kunti, the mother of the Pândavas.

Chandalâna, on the Aughvati River bed, 13 miles to the south-west of Thanesar-Amrita-sthân and Amrita Kûpa.

Dachor, on the Chotang River, 24 miles to the south-south-west of Thanesar, Dakshâsrama Tirath.

Dhedha.—Trivishtap Tirath and Kotaka Tirath.

Dhundhi.—Ekahansa Tirath.

Dorkheri.—Dhanya-janam Tirath.

Dosar—the "two lakes," named Jyoti-hrada and Surya Kund Tirath.

Dusen.—6 miles to south-west of Nagdu, Sindan Tirath, Barâ and Chhotâ Andhiâla Tirath, Anna Tirath, Gangâyam Tirath, and Dasaratha Tirath.

Godali.—Apagâ Tirath. From this name I conclude that Godali must be somewhere on the line of Apagâ or Aughvati River between Thanesar and Pharal.

Gaborân.—Gandharpa Tirath.

Gandho.—Rudrapara, Gangâ, Mandâkini, and Konti Tiraths.

Gohana.—Gavâm Bhavana Tirath. The name of the place appears to be only a contracted form of that of the shrine.

Gumthala, 4 miles to south-south-west of Pehoa. Soma Tirath

Hâbari, 5 miles to south-west of Pundar-Suraj-Kund.

Hât.—Pancha Nidha and Konti Tirath.

Indrabari.—Indra Tirath, where Indra performed *tapasya.*

Jhind.—Bhuteswar, Soma, Sukra, Asidhârâ, Jwâla, Mâleswara, and Surya Kund Tiraths.

Johar.—Jonahrada or Jonasara Tirath.

Kâlua.—Suraj Kund and Jajâli Kund Tiraths.

Kalasi.—Kindân, Bakarâni, Kinjan, and Kalasi Tiraths.

Kailat.—Kapila-hrada Tirath. which gives its name to the place.

Kaithal has shrines dedicated to each of the seven Planets. Surya, Soma, Mangala, Budha, Vrihaspati, Sukra Sanichar, as well as Râhu and Ketu

Kâmoda, a small village in *Kâmâ-vana* or *Kâm-ban*, also called *Kâmyakh-ban*, where there is a shrine to Kâmeshwara Mahâdeva with two brick ghâts and two brick temples. But the most frequented still is a small brick cell, which the people call *Draupadi ka bhândâr*, where Draupadi, the wife of the Five Pandava brothers, is said to have prepared dinner for her husbands.

Karuna, 4 miles to north of Kaithal Karandava and Kul-Târ Tiraths.

Kasân.—Sri Tirath.

Kasoyan.—Kâyâsôdhan Tirath.

Kewadak.—Konti-kûpa Tirath.

Khodâlwa or *Kholwa*, 6 miles to east of Kaithal Siva Kund Tirath.

Khedira-Mangar.—Kansiki Tirath.

Kheri-Sunagrâm, or Malin-Kheri-Tâpan Tirath.

Kimânch.—Kultâran Tirath.

Kol or *Kul.*—Kultâran Tirath.

Kopra or *Kopar*, 2 miles to south of Nagdu Kansiki-hrada, and Panca Tirthi Tiraths.

Kora.—Kambya Tirath.

Kuchrâna.—Kusa Tirath and Surya Kund.

Kulodhâran or *Kultâran*, near Kaithal-Kultâran, Kalasi, and Kâli Kund Tiraths.

Lakhnor.—Kâmeswara Tirath.

Lodhara.—Losa-Udhâra Tirath.

Mânas, 4 miles to the west of Kaithal-Manushya Tirath and Mân-sar Tirath.

Mângna, 5 miles to west of Pehoa, *Sapta Saraswat* Tirath or the "Seven Sarawatis."

Mutor.—Mukata Tirath, which gives its name to the village.

Mewali, 2 miles to south-south-east of Pharal-Kansiki Tirath and Drupada-vati Tirath.

Mohana, or Madhuvana, 4 miles to south of Pharal-Madhuvati Tirath, Budhavala Tirath, Kausiki Tirath, and Datpavati Tirath.

Nagdu, 11 miles to south-south-west of Thanesar-Nâga-hrada Tirath, Narakatâr on the Sarasuti, near Aujas Ghât to west of Thanesar, Bhikam Kund or Bhisham pitâka Tirath. Here Bhikham or Bhishama, the general of the Kauravas army, was killed, and his body burned on the bank of the pool.

Nisang, at the junction of the Kausiki and Chotang Rivers, 14 miles to west of Karnâl-Misrak and Nimkhâr Tiraths. These two names are also found together in Oudh on the Gumti.

Okasbaithi, between Nisang and Taraori.

Parâsara, near Bâlu-Parâsara Tirath, where the holy man performed *tapasya*.

Papanáda, or *Pabnáwa*, on the Aughvati River, 11 miles to the south-west of Thanesar, Pavanahrada Tirath, and Kapila Muni Tirath. Pavanâda is a contraction of Pavanahrada, or the "Breezy Tank."

Pharal, in Palki-Ban, on the Aughvati River, 17 miles to south-west of Thanesar, Phalki Tirath, Drishadwati Tirath, Mausar, Surya Kund, Sumahat, Pânikhât, Rishi, and Sukra Tirath.

Pindâra Soma and Pindâra Tirath.

Prithudaka or *Pehoa*, on the Sarsuti River, 14 miles to west of Thanesar. The place derives its name from Raja Prithu, the son of Vena Raja Here Prithu performed the usual *Sráddha*, or funeral ceremonies, and for twelve days after the burning of his father's body he sat on the bank of the Saraswati offering water to all comers. Hence the spot was called Prithudaka, or Prithu's pool from *daka*, or *udaka*, "water," and the city which he afterwards built on the same spot was called by the same name. The town of Pehoa, as it is usually called, is built partly upon the low ground and partly on an old mound as lofty as that of Thanesar, or from 30 to 40 feet high Its antiquity is proved by the large size of its old bricks, which are 18 by 12 by 2¼ and 3 inches. In the lower part of the western portion of the city there is a modern temple of *Garíb-nath*, who is said to have been a disciple of *Gorakhnáth*. In the wall of this temple is fixed an inscription in 16 lines of Raja Bhoja Deva, the son of Rama Bhadra Deva, dated in *Samvat 276*, both in words and in figures. This date, as I have already made known, most probably refers to the era of Sri Harsha, which began in A.D 607. The date of the inscription will therefore be A.D. 882, at which time, as we know from the Gwalior inscription of S. 933, or A.D. 876, there was reigning a powerful king of the same name, who is most probably the Raja Bhoja, that was contemporary with Sankara Varmma of Kashmir, between A.D. 883 and 901. In the midst of the bazar in the south-east quarter of the city there is a second inscription of 21 lines fixed in the wall of a dwelling house called *Siddgir-ka-Haveli*. The lower left-hand corner of this inscription is concealed in the wall of the building. Twenty-one lines are exposed, and some 7 or 8 lines more, for 9 inches in length, are hidden in the wall. I asked for permission to take the stone out of the wall for the purpose of copying the inscription, which is quite perfect, promising at the same time to replace it at my own expense, but the surly owner

of the house refused, and the inscribed stone, which is now used as a seat outside the door of the building, will eventually be worn away until the letters become illegible.

Pehoa appeared to me to be quite as old as Thanesar. The mound on which the town stands is perhaps not so lofty as the old fort of Thanesar, but the coins and other remains that are found in the ruins are of the same kinds and of the same age. Amongst the terra-cotta remains I obtained one nearly perfect figure of a king seated, of which a drawing is given in the accompanying plate.[1]

The places of pilgrimage at Prithudaka are very numerous, but there are five which are esteemed more especially holy. These are named Madhusrava, Ghritasrava, Pâpântaka, Yayâti, and Vrihaspati, all of which are described in the following list:—

Agnikund, where Agni performed *tapasya.* There are three different pools of this name.

Apsarodaya, or the "rising of the Apsara" nymph Urvasi. But the more general belief is that Urvasi was found by Pururuvas "sporting with four other nymphs of heaven in a lake beautiful with lotuses" at Thanesar. As the original authority, however, only names the wide field of "Kurukshetra," the pool of the Apsaras at Prithudaka has the better claim to be identified with the place of Urvasi's re-appearance.[2]

Arishtasrena or *Arishtisena.*

Aruna-Sangam, at the junction of the Aruna or Mârkanda with the Saraswati River, 3 miles to the north-east of Pehoa. This is one of the old places of Kurukshetra, the village being situated on a mound.

Ausanas, dedicated to the planet Venus, or *Usanas,* who performed *tapasya* on this spot.

Avakirna means "scattered or dispersed," but I have failed to learn anything about the shrine.

Bhárgava, where the sage Bhrigu performed *tapasya.*

Brahma-yoni.—According to Wilson this is the name of a particular mountain, but this I believe to be incorrect, as the famous hill at Gaya, which is commonly so called, receives its name from the temple of Brahma-yoni on its summit.

Chandra-Samudra, or "Sea of the Moon."

Chauta-Samudra, or the "Fourth Sea." There are four pools called respectively the first, second, third, and fourth seas.

Devâpi Tirath.—Devâpi, the eldest son of Pratîpa, a descendant of Parikshita, being leprous, was disqualified to reign, and therefore retired to the forest, where he led a holy life of such merit that he is supposed to be still alive at *Kalâpa.* The Devâpi Tirath should therefore be at Kalâpa, but none of my informants have ever heard of such a place.

Dugdha-sravas, or the "milk-welling" pools, in which milk is said to spring up.

Dusra-Samudra, or the "Second Sea."

[1] See Plate XXVII.
[2] Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 395.

Ghrita-Sravas, or the "Ghi-welling" pool, in which *ghi*, or clarified butter, is said to spring up. This is one of the holiest places at Pehoa.

Kapáli-Mochan, or the "Head-liberator," that is, from the sin of cutting off the four heads of Brahma. Siva was freed from this sin by bathing in this pool.

Kripavan, or *Karpávan Tirath.*—This place received its name from Aswathâma, the son of Drona and Kripi, who was also called Kârpâvan after his mother Kripi, the daughter of the nymph Urvasi.

Madhu-sravas, or the "honey-welling pool." This is the most popular of all the holy places at Pehoa, and everybody accordingly bathes in it. As it is a stagnant pool, the stench rising from it in the hot weather is quite horrible. In 1876 a petty Raja was on his way to bathe in this holiest of pools at Prithudakah ; unfortunately the pool was quite dry that year, but the officiating Brahmans, not wishing to lose the anticipated present from the Raja, began to fill the hollow with water drawn from a neighbouring well by a *Charsa*, or "leather bag;" but the Raja hearing of the trick of substituting common well water contaminated by leather for the holy water of the Saraswati pool, turned back indignantly and returned to his home, leaving the disappointed Brahmans to be punished by the laughter of the people.

Manushya Tirath.

Oshti-shena or *Oshtikhena Tirath.*

Pahla-Samudra, or the "First Sea."

Pápántaha, or the "Sin-ender." In this pool the Ganges is said to have bathed to cleanse herself from the load of sin which she had accumulated from the numerous bathers in her own waters. It is one of the holiest places at Pehoa.

Prithudaka or *Pritheswara* received its name from Prithu, the son of Raja Vena. At this spot Prithu sat for 12 days after his father's cremation, offering water to all comers. Hence the place was called *Príthudaka*, or "Prithu's pool," and the town which he afterwards built received the same name.

Ráma Tirtha.—Here Rama performed *tapasya*.

Sindhu-dwipa, or the "Sindhu's isle."

Tisra-Samudra, or the "Third Sea."

Untak, Utnak, or *Utank Tirath.*

Vasishta práchin and *Vasishta dwaha.*—These two names are given in the list as those of separate shrines, but the only one that I could hear of was on the north bank of the Saraswati, a short distance above the Viswamitra mound, and upwards of a mile from Pehoa.

Viswamitra Tirath.—This is situated on the south bank of the Saraswati, on a mound rising 40 feet above the bed of the river. Here are the remains of a fine temple, of which only the stone doorway of the sanctum is now left standing. There is a mass of solid bricks, with numerous fragments of carved bricks. Over the doorway there is a male figure with two arms seated with hands in lap, and with a small elephant on each side anointing him. To his left were the *Nava-graha*, or nine planets, and to the right the *Ashta-Sakti*, or eight female energies of gods.

Vrihaspati, where the regent of the planet Jupiter performed *tapasya*.

Yayáti Tirath.—This shrine is in honour of the common ancestor of both Kauravas and Påndavas. This is the last of the Prithudaka places of pilgrimage.

Pulwal, 3 miles to the south-east of Thanesar, on the Aughvati River, Chatwaran Devakhât Tirath.

Pundari, 6 miles to south of Pharal, Pundarika, and Nagahrada Tiraths.

Punpun, in Jhind, Panah Deva, Munjhat, and Girahi Yaksha Tiraths.

Pushkar bedi.—Pushkara Tirath.

Rámray, near the south-west corner of the holy chakra, and 5 miles to the south-west of Jhind Sanahitya Tirath. There is another place of the same name near Thanesar. At Ramray there is also a Surya Kund and a Yakshini-hrada.

Rasálo.—Brahma Tirath.

Rasina, 7 miles to east of Pundari Riumochan Tirath, a pool in which the bather is "freed from debt."

Ratgal, at the north-east corner of the holy chakra close to Pipli-kanti Tirath, and Gangahrada. This place is named after Yaksha Ratna, who is the guardian of the north-east corner.

Sách.—Suchi Tirath.

Sádhan.—Sankhani Devi Tirath.

Sagá.—Vimala-Sara.

Sainyahat or *Sainhat.*—This place I believe to be represented by Sanwat, 9 miles to the south of Thanesar and 4 miles to the east of Nagdu.

Sajamán.—Surya Kund.

Sákrá.—Sakaravarta and Påpalopaka Tiraths.

Sálon or *Sálavana*, the "Sâl tree forest."—Hansa Tirath and Dasaswamedha Tirath.

Sánkasa.—Sankasarika Tirath.

Saphidan.—Sarpadarpa and Någadamon Tiraths.

Sataura.—Ansananas and Kåpal-Mochan Tiraths; the former dedicated to Sukra or Venus, and the latter to Siva.

Shergarh.—Sarak, Kanti-kûpa, and Iråspad Tiraths. The original name of the place was most probably *Saraka*, since changed to the better known name of Shergarh.

Silakhera.—Brahmasroda and Supta Rishi Tiraths.

Sinkh, at the south-east corner of the chakra of Kurukshetra. The full name is said to be Singhana, which is that of a place near Sáphidan Yaksha Kund and Sani Yaksha Tirath. These are the guardian yakshas of the south-east corner.

Sitala-math.—Vedavati T.

Sivan.—Somati Dandaka, Swanlopåta, Dasåswamedha, and Sahas-ramedha Tiraths.

Sohna.—Su-Tirath.

Thánesar or *Stháņu-Iswara*, so called from these two names of Siva, the *Sthánu Tirath* being one of the principal places of pilgrim-age at Thanesar. I have given a description of the antiquities of this

famous place of pilgrimage in one of my early reports.[1] The fort, which is still 60 feet high above the fields, was stormed by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1011; but in A.D. 1043 it was retaken by the Raja of Delhi, in whose hands it would seem to have remained until the time of Muhammad Ghori. I can find no notice of Thanesar during his campaigns, although Hânsi and Sarsuti are often mentioned. I presume therefore that it must have been deserted by the Hindus when the Muhammadans occupied Hânsi in force under Aibek. As the holy places about Thanesar are very numerous, I have arranged their names alphabetically for the convenience of easy reference.

Apagá Tirath is on the Apagâ or Aughvati River, a few miles to the south of Thanesar.

Agni-prachin, where Agni performed *tapasya*.

Aditya Márkanda Tirath.

Brahmá-kupa.—Pool of Brahma.

Brahma-yoni.

Chatur-mukh, a temple dedicated to Brahmâ, on the high road to the north of the town.

Chakrá Tirath.—Here Krishna (*i.e.*, Vishnu) took up his chakra to kill Brikham. The shrine which was called *Chakra Swami* was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni.

Durga-kupa, in honour of the goddess Durgâ.

Durga Tirath, ditto.

Ekoratri, here Krishna rested for "one night."

Ganga-hrada,—On the Saraswati, where Gangâ bathed.

Hriday Janyan.

Indra Tirath, where Indra performed *tapasya*.

Kuru-dwaj Tirath.—This is a holy temple at the west end of the Narbida Tâl and close to the south side of the old fort. Here Kuru planted his flag (dhwaja) when he began his *tapasya*.

Kausiki Tirath, in honour of Kausiki River.

Konti Tirath, in honour of Kunti, the mother of the Pândavas.

Kuvera Tirath, where Kuvera performed *tapasya*.

Kula-prachin.—Here Ganga bathed and got rid of the load of sins which had accumulated from others in her own stream.

Kshiri-ka-vása.—Here water was changed to milk (*Kshiri*) for the benefit of the Pândavas.

Lakshmi-kund or *Lakshya Tirath.*

Lakori Tirath.

Narakatári or *Anaraka*.—I have mislaid my note about this place. It referred, however, to the escape of some one from *Naraka* or Hell. The place is on the bank of the Saraswati, 2 miles to the west of Thanesar.

Padmánabha kupa.

Parásurma.—On this site the hero Parâsurama laid down his axe after having slain the Kshatriyas twenty-one times.

Pávana or *Pavati.*

Ráma Tirath, where the hero performed *tapasya*.

Rudra Linga.

[1] See Archæological Survey of India, Vol. II, p. 212.

Rudra kúpa.

Rudrapatni kúpa.

Sárasut.—Here Saruswati herself performed *tapasya.*

Sarvna Tirath.

Sarvnabandi Tirath.

Soma-práchin.—Here the moon performed *tapasya.*

Sthánu Tirath, half a mile to the north of the town on the side of the high road leading to Ambâla. *Sthanu* is one of the names of Siva under the form of the lingam.

Sukra Tirath, where Sukra or Venus performed *tapasya.*

Swarga-dwari, or "Heaven's door."—By bathing here an entrance is obtained into paradise.

Vasishta-práchi.—Here the sage performed *tapasya.*

Vriddhi-kanyá, the "Old Maid."—Here an ancient virgin having propitiated a Rishi, bore a child. The place is therefore much frequented by barren women.

Thana.—Brahmâ-sthân Tirath.

Upalúna, 5 miles to the south-west of Dachor, Upapalo, and Pavana Tirath.

Urnáyacha.—Renuka Tirath.

Vyás kheri.—Sâlihotar Tirath.

32.—RAJAPURI, OR RAJAORI.

The earliest mention of *Rajaori* is by Hwen Thsang, who came from Kashmir by way of *Ko-lo-che-pu-lo*, or Rajapuri to the plains of the Punjâb. It was then a dependency of Kashmir and had no Raja. In the Raja Tarangini it is first noticed in the time of Kalasa, A.D. 1080 to 1088, when Sangrâmapala succeeded to the throne of Rajapuri, on the death of his father Sahajpâla. Madanpâla, the brother of the deceased Raja, disputed his title, but the nephew prevailed against him with the assistance of Kashmir, and was one of the eight tributary chiefs who presented themselves at the court of Kashmir in the year 63, or A.D. 1087. The names of these eight Princes are—

1. Kirttini of Arvapura.
2. Asata of Champeya, or Chamba.
3. Kalasa of Vallâpura, or Bisaoli.
4. Sangrama of Rajapuri, or Rajaori.
5. Utkarsha of Lohara, or Dârvâbhisâra.
6. Aurvasá.
7. Gambhirasindha Kanda.
8. Kashtavâta.

Between A.D. 1088 and 1100, Harsha, the King of Kashmir, determined upon attacking Lohara. His General Kandarpa was opposed by Sangrâma near Rajapuri, but the Kashmiris prevailed, and Kandarpa was appointed governor of

Lohara. Afterwards Harsha proceeded against Rajapuri in person, but returned through fear of Turushkas. In A.D 1088-89 Ibrahim of Ghazni had made a successful campaign in the Punjâb.

In the year 66, or A.D. 1090, Harsha sought to kill his cousins Uchchala and Sussala, but they escaped, the elder taking refuge with King Kalha in Rajapuri, and the younger in Kalanjara. The King of Kashmir then tried to bribe Kalha with the offer of the kingdom of Sangrâmpala if he would kill Uchchala. Harsha was expelled by Uchchala in A.D. 1100, during whose reign Sangrâma, Raja of Rajapuri, died and was succeeded by his younger son Sompâl, who threw his elder brother Pratâp Pala into prison and afterwards killed him. Sussala ascended the throne of Kashmir in the year 88, or A.D. 1112, and received the homage of Kalha, Sompal, and other princes. During his reign Nâgpâl, the son of the murdered prince Pratap, sought refuge in Kashmir. Sompal then sent for Bhikshâchar, the son of Harsha, from Vallapura, but Sussala installed Nagpal, and Sompal was obliged to fly. In the year 95, or A.D. 1119, however, Sompal returned and his nephew lost the kingdom. When Bhikshu attacked Sussala, Sompala joined with a contingent of Turushkas. He was still reigning when Sussala was killed in A.D. 1127, and the last mention of him is after 1132, when, worried by the conduct of his son Bhopala, he sought an asylum with Jaya Sinha of Kashmir. This son was afterwards married to Menila, one of the king's four daughters.

The Muhammadan history of Rajaori begins after the death of Zeinulabuddin in Kashmir. During his time the Hindu Raja of Rajaori, named Sundar Sen, sent his eldest daughter Râjya Devi to the Sultan. On her arrival the king was sporting on the Wular lake, and when he saw the lady's party coming, he asked one of his followers "what mother's *duli* is that?" On hearing that it belonged to the Rajaori Princess, he said, "As I have already called her 'mother' how can I receive her as a wife?" She was sent to the palace, where she afterwards became a Muhammadan, and the Rajwir Kadal, or Rajaori Bridge, was built by her. The Raja then sent his second daughter *Sundar Debi* to the king. She also became a Muhammadan, but retained her Hindu name, and the people called her *Sundar-mâ-ji*. She bore a son, Adham Shâh, who was generally known as the Wali. As he quarrelled with his brother Haidar Shâh, the king gave him the governorship of the lower hills, including Punach and

Rajaori, as far as Kálanor; on his father's death he returned to Kálanor, where he had a son named Sikandar Sháh Sáni. During the reign of his brother Haidar Sháh, he marched to Jammu, where he induced the Raja to support his invasion of Kashmir. But he was shortly after killed in a skirmish with a party of Mughals, leaving his eldest son Fateh Khan to prosecute his claims to the throne. Fateh eventually succeeded, and by his aid the descendants of his brother obtained possession of Rajaori. Sikandar's son, Sher Afkun, generally known by his Hindu name of Kalanor Si, or Sinh, was the father of Nur Sháh, or Nil Si, the first Muhammadan Raja of Rajaori. Nil-Si first conquered the country, and afterwards marrying the Raja's daughter he succeeded to the chiefship. His descendants afterwards reigned undisturbed as Muhammadan Rajas, each bearing a Hindu name in addition to his other name. The list of the Rajas of Rajaori, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is as follows—

No.	A.D		
1	1050	Sahaja Pala.	
2	1085	Sangrama Pala.	
3	1100	Soma Pala.	
4	1135	Bhu Pala.	
		Sundar Sen, daughter married Zeinulabiddin.	
	1473	Adham Khan ...	
	1475	Sikandar Sani ...	
	1480	Sher Afkun	Kalanor Si.
	1500	Raja Nur Shah ...	Nil Si.
	12	" Baha-uddin ...	Bhag Si.
	24	" Anwar Shah ...	Uttam Si.
	36	" Haibat Shah ...	Haibat Si.
	48	" Sardar Shah ...	Ratan Si
	60	" Shah Sawar ...	Sansar Si.
	72	" Doulat Shah ...	Doulat Si.
	84	" Zaman Shah ..	Chak Si.
	96	" Shahabuddin ...	Sangar Si.
	1608	" Burhanuddin ...	Rariam Si.
	1620	" Bahadur Khan ...	Bahadur Si.
	1630	" Sirmast Khan ...	———
	1640	" Tajuddin ...	Chatr. Si, his daughter married Aurangzeb.
	1650	" Hayat Khan ...	Hayat St. Sanad of Aurangzeb, A.H. 1073.
	1665	" Inayatulla Khan ...	Reigned 14 years.
	1679	" Hidayatulla Khan	
	1703	" Nyamutulla Khan	Reigning in 1119 A.H. and 1151 A.H.
	1740	" Rahmatulla Khan	Bahadur Si.
	1763	" Karimulla Khan ...	Died A. H. 1223.
	1808	" Agarulla Khan ...	Imprisoned at Lahor.
	1818	" Rahimulla Khan ...	In 1846 received Rilhu in exchange.

33.—CHAMPA, OR CHAMBA.

The State of Champa comprises the whole course of the Râvi and its tributaries within the mountains. In the Raja Tarangini it is called *Champa* and *Champapuri*, a name which belongs properly to the capital, but is commonly applied to the whole district. The climate is temperate, as the valley of the Râvi is sheltered from the hot winds of summer by the lofty range of the *Dhaola dhâr*, or white mountain, which forms the water parting between the Byâs and the Râvi The snow disappears from its summits in September, but in the sheltered ravines itremains throughout the year, and during the time of the Mughal Emperors it was regularly supplied to the imperial kitchen at Lahore. The mass of the people are shepherds, called *Gadis*, who bring their flocks during the winter into the warmer valley of the Byâs. They wear a peculiar cap of thick white woollen cloth, with a high point sloping backwards. They are particularly fond of their own country, and are loud in its praises. The burden of their common song, which I have heard repeatedly, expresses the strength of their attachment—

Chamba dia dhâra,
Pawan fuâra,
Mera chit Chamba dia dhâra.

which may be almost literally rendered as follows:—

"On Chamba's mountains,
Spring-welling fountains.
My heart is ever on Chamba's mountains."

Of the early history of Chamba nothing whatever is known. The Raja is a Surajvansi Râjput, and his Purohit has a long genealogy beginning with Brahma, Marichi, Kâsyapa, Surya, &c., but the genuine record seems to begin with a list of ten Princes who are said to have resided at Barmâwar. Some of their names are found in the Barmâwar inscriptions, but the o der of them is inverted. They are the earliest authentic records of the country, and precede by one or two centuries the first notices of Champa that I have been able to find in the Raja Tarangini. There are three of these early inscriptions at Barmâwar, on the Budhil River, and a fourth at Chaitrâri, on the Râvi. All are engraved on brass images, which had never been seen by Muhammadans until my servants arrived there. The images are consequently in good order.

Before giving the Raja's list of his ancestors I will first describe the temples and inscriptions at Barmâwar, Chaitrâri, and Chamba. The temples at Chamba were first seen by Vigne, and they have since been photographed by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, but except the surveyors I believe I am the only European who has ever visited Barmâwar.

The ancient capital of the country was Varmmapuri, or Barmâwar, which I visited in 1839. It is one of the prettiest spots that I have seen with its gigantic trees and hoary moss-grown temples, springing from a level terrace covered with luxuriant grass. The village is situated on the left bank of the Budhil River, the southern affluent of the Râvi. Here the river is spanned by a wooden bridge 68 feet in length and 4½ feet broad, with a footway of planks and a side railing, knee high, at a height of 98 feet above the stream. The temples are overshadowed by an ancient walnut tree of great size, flanked by lofty deodar trees, of which one measured 20 feet in girth at 3 feet above the ground and 17 feet at the narrowest part 5 feet higher up. Above this point it divided into ten great branches, each a goodly tree, which rose in a thick clump to a height of 100 feet.

There are three principal temples, two of stone and one of wood, with a brass bull, life-size, and a number of small lingam shrines scattered about; some of stone, but the greater number were wooden sheds.

The largest temple is dedicated to Manimahes, a form of Siva, whose lingam is placed inside surrounded by a number of small brass figures. Amongst these I recognised two of Ganesa and one of Durgâ, with a child on her knee. The walls of the temple are of squared blocks of clay slate highly decorated, but as the cutting is not deep and the annual rains are exceedingly heavy, the ornamentation is fast decaying and crumbling away. On a small slab of white marble let into the pavement in front there is a roughly-cut inscription of four lines, which no one could read satisfactorily. It opens with the date of Samvat 1474, or A.D. 1417.

The second stone temple is of the same style as that of Manimahes. It is dedicated to the Narasinha Avatâra of Vishnu, whose image of brass is enshrined inside. The figure is seated on a Singhâsan, or lion throne, and is remarkable for its ferocious aspect and horrible wide jaws. There are traces of an inscription on the pedestal, but the letters are so much decayed that I was obliged to give up the attempt to copy it.

The third temple, which is made principally of wood, is dedicated to Lakshanâ Devi. The pillars and architraves and the pediment of the doorway are all of wood, most elaborately and deeply carved. But the snow and rain of a dozen centuries have sadly defaced the carvings. At a short distance the figures seem distinct and their outlines well defined, but as one approaches closer, the definition becomes more and more indistinct, and one sees only the parallel lines of the harder fibre from between which all the softer parts of the wood have been worn away by the weather. Amongst the least decayed portions I recognised above a figure of Lakshanâ Devi, with four arms, seated on a prostrate figure, with an attendant kneeling on each side. In ten small niches below are ten small squatted figures alternately facing different ways. In a lower tier are ten other figures squatted with their hands upon their knees, and upholding with visible effect, even in their decayed state, edifices which rest upon their heads, in still lower niches, each holding a couple of amatory figures in different positions. Over the middle of the door are fixed a pair of large ibex horns; smaller ones are placed at intervals, with numbers of small *trisuls* and rails of iron. In the inside the vestibule is supported on pillars of wood which are beautifully carved in very good preservation. In the sanctum, or inner apartment, is enshrined a brass statue of the goddess with four arms, treading with her right foot on the head of a prostrate buffalo whose tail she is holding up in one of her left hands; the buffalo is on its knees, with its hind legs in the air. In one of her right hands she holds a trident, with the pointed end stuck into the buffalo's neck. In the other right hand is a sword, and in the other left hand a bell. On the pedestal is engraved the following inscription in two lines:—

1.—Aum! Moshunâswa gotrâdityavansa sambhuta
Sri Aditya Varmma Dêvạ prapotra
Sri Bala Varmma Deva potra
Sri Divâkâra Varmma Deva putrena
2.—Sri Merv Varmmana atma punya vridhaye
Lakshanâ Devyârchchavkârâpitâh Karmmina Guggena.

"Aum! this image of Lakshanâ Devi, for the increase of his own virtue, was dedicated by Meru Varmma Deva, the son of Sri Divâkara Varmma Deva, the grandson of Sri Bala Varmma Deva, the great-grandson of Sri Aditya Varmma Deva, of the race of Mohsunâswa, and family of Aditya. Made by Gugga."

A small stone temple dedicated to Ganesa contains a large half-length figure of the god in brass. There is an

inscription on the pedestal flanked by two rampant lions, with a curious elephant-eared human figure squatted in the middle below, with his elbows resting on his knees. The inscription is arranged in four lines :—

1.—Aum nama. Ganapatayo Moshunaswa gotrâditya
vansa Sambhuta Sri Aditya Varmma prapotra
2.—Bala Varmma Deva mu....... potra Sri Divâkara
Varmma Deva Sununâ.
3.—Mahârâjâdhirâja Srimeru Varmmana kârâpitâ
Deva varmmeyam.
4.—Karmmina Guggena.

"Salutation to Ganapati! This divine image (*Varmma*) was dedicated by the supreme Raja Meru Varmma, the son of Divâkara Varmma Deva, the grandson of Bâla Varmma Deva, the great-grandson of Aditya Varmma Deva, of the race of Mohsunâswa, and family of Aditya. Made by Gugga."

The great brazen figure of the bull Nandi is placed in an open wooden shed between the two temples of Mani Mahesa and Narasinha, which face each other, with his head of course towards the Saiva temple of Mani Mahesa. The right ear and tail are broken, but the statue is otherwise in excellent preservation. The execution is stiff and rigid, with all the features much exaggerated. On the right side of the pedestal there is a long inscription in two lines of well-defined characters :—

1.—Prâsâdâ Meru Sedrisâm Himavant martteh
Kritwâ swayam pravara Karmma subhaira nekaih
tach Chandra Sâla rachitam nava nâbha nâma
prâggriva Kairchni vidha mandapâm nekachittraih.
2.—Tasyâ grâto virshaba pîna kapola Kâyah
Sam slishta varsha Kakudanna ta deva thanah
Sri Meru Varmma Chaturo dadhi Kirtti resha
mata pitri satatamâtmânu vardhaih
Kirta Karmmina Guggenah.

Chaitrâri is a large village on a fine open plain on the left or south bank of the Râvi, about half-way between Barmâwar and Chamba, below the triple junction of the Nai, Budhil, and Râvi Rivers. The place is inhabited chiefly by Brahmans and musicians attached to the temple of *Sagat Devi* or *Sakti Devi*. The temple is a simple slated building, with plastered walls; but the slates are neatly cut and nailed on at a steep pitch. The statue of the goddess has four arms, and is 4½ feet in height. It is one of the three famous statues of the hill country, the other two being the headless Bhawâni Devi of Kangra, and the Lakshana Devi of Barmâwar. The statue is adorned with large silver earrings and with immense silver

diadems on the head fringed with small silver bells. In the upper right hand there was a sceptre and in the lower one a lotus flower. I was not allowed to enter the temple, and owing to the general gloom of the sanctum and the blackness of the pedestal I was unable to make out the inscription. I copied it as well as I could from the doorway with a small telescope. Much of the copy of course is quite unintelligible, but in the first line I recognised the name of *Sri Meru Varmma*, and at the end the name of the sculptor *Kirta Karmmina Guggena* "made by Gugga." The statue is therefore of the same age as those at Barmâwar, having been made by the same artist, and set up during the reign of the same king.

The temple as it now stands is, I think, of later date. It has a carved wooden doorway which is probably as old as the statue, but the plastered walls and the slated roof, as well as the closed verandah all round, filled with paintings, seemed to me to be comparatively modern. To the left were pictured the triumphs of Mahâ Kâli, the great skeleton goddess with her tongue protruded and extended through the whole length of the painting to form a resting place for numerous attendant deities and strange hobgoblins with monstrous mouths. On the right side are pictured stories of Krishna disporting himself with the Gopis, or milk-maids, of Mathura, surrounded by a circle of forked lightning, which looks more like a garland of decayed reddish-brown willow leaves.

Chamba, the present capital is situated on a fine open plain about 400 yards in length, on the right bank of the Râvi, at an elevation of 3,000 feet above the sea. There is a tradition that the river formerly flowed over the site of Chamba, which is no doubt true, as the plain is formed of large boulders of slate and granite covered with earth. The principal temples are dedicated to Lakshmi Narâyan and Siva and Pârvati. But the former is by far the most famous; and the last independent Rajas of Chamba placed the Vishnupad, or feet of Vishnu, on their coins.

In the Siva Pârvati temple there are brass figures of the god and goddess accompanied by the bull Nandi. Siva is represented with four arms leaning with his right hand on the neck of the bull, and with his right leg advanced. Pârvati has two arms, and stands with her left leg advanced. The statues are well executed. There are no inscriptions.

The temple of Lakshmi Nârâyana is referred to the time of Raja Sâla Varmma, who reigned in the beginning of the 11th century. As he had no children he paid great devotion to Siva, on which 84 lingams sprang up, and promised that the

Raja should have ten sons. Sâla Varmma took one of these lingams to Chamba and set it up under the name of Chakravarti Siva. He then sent nine of his sons to Vindhyâchal to fetch a block of white marble of which was formed another lingam of Siva. He then sent his nine sons to bring a second block for an image of Vishnu. The princes were all killed on their return near Garhmukhtesar, on the Ganges, but the Raja's tenth son succeeded in bringing the marble to Chamba. Out of this was formed the image called Lakshmi Nârâyana, which Chakravarti Siva no sooner beheld than he took it up and placed it in his own temple.[1]

The other deities who have temples in Chamba are the following:—

Champa Devi, which gives her name to the capital as Champa-devi-pura. The figure of the goddess is made of black stone, and is represented with six arms and riding on a tiger.

Thakur Hari Rai, with four arms. In one hand he holds a small figure of Narasinha.

Trinetra Mahadeva, or the "Three-eyed Mahadeva," is a white marble figure with four heads, attended by two goddesses in black stone.

Siva and Pârvati.—The temple possesses three brass figures of Siva, Pârvati, and Nandi.

Siva.—This temple has a brazen door.

Râdha Krishna.—Inside are two white marble figures of Krishna and Radha.

Lakshmi-nâth contains a white marble figure of Vishnu.

The genealogy of the Chamba Rajas traces the descent of the family from the sun. Some few omissions and interpolations, differing from the present list, can be occasionally checked by the inscriptions and the rare notices to be found in the Raja Tarangini—

No.	A.D. date.		
1		Karna.	
2		Bisohakena.	
3		Bikarana.	
4		Jayastambha	These ten Rajas are said to have resided in Barmâwar.
5		Jalastambha	
6		Mahastambha	
7		Adi Varmma	
8		Deva V	
9		Mandra V.	
10		Kantar V.	
11		Parakalpa V.	
12		Aja V.	
13		Meru V.	

[1] The legend of this stone, is somewhat differently told by Vigne, Travels, Vol. I, p. 158; but the story is the same although the Rajas are said to be sixteen in number.

No.	A.D. date.	
14		Sunarna V.
15		Lakshmi V., killed by invasion of Nilechchas from Kashmir? Sangkara V. AD. 890.
16	890	*Mraha* V.
17	915	Hansa V.
18	940	San, or Mihramba V.
19	965	Meru V.
20	990	Sajjum, or Mojuna V.
21	1015	Soila, or Sahila V. Sala killed by A nanta of Kashmir A.D. 1030.
22	1030	Chokakar V. or Yagakar V.
23		Doghda V.
24		Vidugdha V.
25		Vichitra V.
26		Dharya V.
27	1060	Asata V. Kalasa of Kashmir marries his sister A.D. 1060.
28	1080	Jasata Varma.
29		Dhala V.
30		Ajita V.
31		Daityari V.
32	1100	Prithna V.
33	1125	Udaya V. (Raja Tarangini, A.D. 1121-117.)
34	50	Lalita V.
35	75	Vijya V.
36	1200	Rajaya V.
37	25	Sora V.
38	50	Kirtti V.
39	75	Ajita V.
40	1300	Madana or Suman V
41	25	Asa V.
42	50	Jimuta V.
43	75	Vairi V.
44	1400	Manikya V.
45	25	Bodha V.
46	50	Sangrama V.
47	75	Ananda V.
48	1500	Ganesa V.
49	25	Pratapa Sinha V.
50	50	Virabahan V.
51	75	Balikarna or Bal-bhadra.
52	1600	Janardan.
53	1640	Prithni Sinha.
54	1675	Mahipat S. or Mahipal.
55	1500	Udaya S.
56	1725	Ugra S.
57	1750	Umed S.
58	1775	Rai or Rajya S.
59	1800	Ajita S.
60	1825	Charat S.

34.—AUDUMBARA, OR NURPUR.

In a former Report I noticed the happy position of Pathânkot as being "especially favourable as a mart for the

interchange of produce between the hills and plains. Situated in the middle of a narrow neck of land, only 16 miles in width, which divides the valleys of the Biâs and Râvi at the point where they leave the hills, Pathânkot naturally became the great emporium between the two rich villages of Kangra and Chamba in the hills, and the two great cities of Lahor and Jâlandhar in the plains."[1] The old name of the district is variously given as Dahmeri or Dahmbeori, which I believe to be derived from *Audumbara*, as I will presently endeavour to show. Its capital was Pathânkot, from which the Rajas derived their distinct title of Pathâniya. The name is also written Paithân, and is quite unconnected with that of the Pathâns of Roh. In fact the name is a mere abbreviation of the Sanskrit *Pratishthâna*, "the firmly established place," and is the same as that of the more famous *Paithân* on the Godâvari.

The old fort is now a mere mound, about 600 feet square and 100 feet high, with a *raoni*, or faussebraie, about 80 wide all round. The old bricks are of very large size, which is a sure sign of Hindu origin as well as of great age. Numerous coins are also found there, amongst which are several of the Greek King Zoilus, and of the Indo-Scythian Princes Gondophares, Kanishka, and Huvishka. But the most curious—and certainly the most interesting—coins discovered at Pathânkot are some small Hindu copper pieces which bear the name of ***Odumbara*** in Arian Pali letters. These coins certainly date as high as the beginning of the Christian era, and as not a single specimen has been found elsewhere, I conclude that the name of ***Odumbara*** must be that of the town or district in which they are discovered. According to Pânini, any country in which the *Udumbara* tree (*Ficus glomerata*) flourishes may be called *Audumbara*.[2] This is true of the Nûrpur District, in which the glomerous fig-tree is common. But the name itself is also to be found in Hindu books as a country in the North-eastern Panjâb. Thus, Varâha Mihira twice couples the *Udumbaras* with the Kapisthalas, who are the Kambistholi of Arrian's Indica.[3] In the Mârkandeya Purâna they are joined with the Kapisthalas,[4] and in the Vishnu Purâna they are coupled with the Traigarttas and Kulindas, the former being the people of Kangra, and the latter of

[1] Archæological Survey of India, Vol. V, p. 153.
[2] Vishnu Purana by Hall, Vol. II, p. 188, quoting Goldstücher.
[3] Brihat Sanhita, c. XIV.
[4] Ward's Hindus, Vol. III, p. 9.

Kulu and the districts on the Sutlej[1] I think therefore that the old name is most probably preserved in the present Dahmeri or Dahmbari, which I take to be only a corrupt survival of *Audumbara*. Similarly I believe that the Mambaros of the Periplus is only a corruption of *Audumbara*, which is the ancient name of Kachh. The coins are thin pieces of copper, either square or oblong, with a temple on one face and an elephant on the other Beside the temple are the Buddhist symbols of the Swastika and Dharmachakra, and beneath it a snake. Before the elephant there is a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing, with an Arian legend on two sides of which one-half reads distinctly *Odumbara*. I conclude therefore that the tree represented is an *Udumbara*.

I can find no trace of the name in the historians of Alexander, but the quotations which I have given from Varâha Mihira and the Purânas show that the name was well known before the Muhammadan invasion. Its next mention is by Abu Rihân, who calls *Dahmâla* the capital of *Jâlandhar*,[2] from which I conclude that the district had been annexed by its more powerful neighbour of Traigartta or Kangra. From that time down to the reign of Akbar I know of no mention of this district, either as *Audumbara* or as Pathâniya. That it continued to exist as a small chiefship I have no doubt, as the Rajas trace their descent for some twenty generations before Akbar's accession, when Raja Bakht Mall of Paithan, on the side of Sikandar Sur, opposed the Mughal army at Mânkot; and being taken prisoner was barbarously executed by Bairâm Khân in A.H. 965, or A.D. 1558.

I could find no authoritative record of this family, as all the old records were said to have been destroyed during the fights with the Muhammadans and the Sikhs. I got however a short genealogy of the Rajas, which was written by Shekh Muhammad Amir, the Kotwâl of Nûrpur, from the dictation of Devi Shah, a very old Brahman, who knew the family history. In 1846 Devi Shah was 95 years old. His list, so far as it can be tested, agrees remarkably well with the few names that can be gathered from the Muhammadan historians. The Raja is called a Pundir, or descendant of the Pandus, a claim which he shared with the Rajas of Bisohli, Mandi, and Suket. According to Devi Shah, he was a Tomar Rajput descended from the Arjun Pandava. The earliest names that he could remember were those of two brothers, Jay Pâl

[1] Hall's Edition Vishnu Purana, Vol II, p. 180.
[2] Elliot's Muhammadan Historians by Dowson, Vol. I, p. 62.

and Bhu Pâl, of whom the former lived at Dahmeri and the latter at Paithân. The following is his list of names, to which I have added approximate dates down to the time of Akbar, after whom the dates are generally correct. Some of the names, are of doubtful origin, and I am unable to restore the true spelling.

No.	A. D.	
1	1095	Jay Pâl.
2	1100	Ghatr Pâl.
3	1125	Sukin Pâl.
4	1150	Jagrat Pâl.
5	1175	Ram Pâl.
6	1200	Gopal Pâl.
7	1225	Arjun Pâl.
8	1250	Baras Pâl—V arsha.
9	1275	Jatan Pâl.
10	1300	Vidrath Pâl—Vidurath.
11	1325	Jokan Pâl, married a Tirharan Rani.
12	1350	Kirat Pâl, called Rana.
13	1375	Kahko Pâl.
14	1400	Jassu Pâl.
15	1425	Kullas Pâl, married daughter of Jammu Raja.
16	1450	Nago Pâl.
17	1475	Prithi Pâl.
18	1500	Beelo.
19	1525	Bakht Mall, put to death in A H. 965—A.D. 1558.
20	1558	Behari Mall, brother (called Takht Mall).
21	1580	Vasu Deva —in A.H. 1003—rebelled 1594-95.
22	1613	Suraj Mall—in A.H. 1027—rebelled A.D. 1618.
23	1620	Jagat Singh—in A.H. 1047—rebelled A.D. 1638.
24	1646	Raja Rup, died A.H 1077—A D. 1666-67.
25	1667	" Mandhata.
26	1700	" Dayadhata.
27	1735	" Prithi Singh.
28	1770	" Fateh Singh.
29	1805	" Bir Singh.
30	1846	" Jaswant Singh.

An interesting account of some of the later chiefs has been published by Mr. Beames, partly from the information supplied by Mr. Blochmann from the Padishah-namah, and partly from a Hindu poem composed by Raja Mândhâta, the 25th in the above list.[1]

No. 19.—I have already noted that Râja *Bakht Mall* sided with Sikandar Sur against Akbar in A.H. 965, and was put to death by Bairâm Khân, who installed his brother *Takht Mall*.

No. 21.—*Vasu Deva* rebelled against Akbar in the 42nd year of his reign. He was then called the zamindar of Mân and Pathân. He rebelled a second time in the 47th year, when

[1] See Proceedings Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872, p. 156; and Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1875, p. 201.

Pathân was taken from him. He died in A.H. 1022, A.D. 1613, and was succeeded by his son

No. 22.—Suraj Mall rebelled against Jahângir in A.H. 1027, or A.D. 1618; he was defeated and his brother

No. 23.—Jagat Singh was installed in his place. He was patronised by Jahângir, who gradually raised him to the command of 300, with the title of Raja. In A.H. 1047 he rebelled against Shâh Jahân, and on his submission was restored to his former rank. He accompained Dârâ Shikoh to Kandahar, and died at Peshawar in A.H. 1052, or A.D. 1646. His praises form the subject of the poem written by his grandson Raja Mândhâta. He was succeeded by his son

No 24.—Raja Rup, who had accompanied him on his expeditions across the Indus. Raja Rup was created a commander of 1,500 with the title of Raja, but the strong fort of Târâgarh was taken from him.

On the decay of Mughal power the small hill states of the Panjâb generally remained undisturbed until the rise of the Sikhs. Nûrpur was visited by Forster in 1783, who notes that it enjoyed "a state of more internal quiet, was less molested by the Sikhs, and governed more equitably than any of the adjacent territories."[1] The revenue was then about 4 lakhs of rupees. In 1815 Raja Bir Singh was imprisoned by Ranjit Singh, and his country added to the Sikh dominion. He escaped and was again imprisoned in 1826. But he was soon after released and was granted an allowance of Rs. 500 a month until his death in 1846.

35.—MANDI.

The mountain course of the Byâs River is divided between the three chiefships of Kulu, Mandi, and Kangra, of which the second comprises the middle portion from the great bend to the north of Simla westward to Baijnâth and Kamalagarh. The town of Mandi, which gives its name to the district, is of comparatively modern date, having been founded by Ajban Sen about A.D. 1500. The Mandi family is a younger branch of the Suket family, the separation having taken place about A.D. 1200, when Bahu Sen, the younger brother of Sahu Sen, Raja of Suket, emigrated to Kulu. There his descendants remained for ten generations, when Kabacha Sen was killed by the Kulu Raja. His widow fled to Seokot, where she gave birth to a son Ban Sen, who eventually became the

[1] Forster's Journey from India to England, Vol I, p. 270.

chief of Seokot, near the present site of Mandi: such is the story of the family. But the copper-plate inscription of the great temple at Nirmand gives the genealogy of four Rajas, all of whom take the title of Sena, which was peculiar to the families of Suket and Mandi. The names in the plate also agree very closely with some of the consecutive names in the genealogical list of the Mandi Rajas. I now place the two series side by side for comparison:—

Nirmand Plate.	*Raja's list.*
1.—Varuna Sena.	1.—Naravâhana Sena.
2.—Sanjaya Sena.	Kanavahana Sena.
7—Ravi Sena.	2.—Savahana Sena.
4.—Samudra Sena.	3.—Vira Sena.
	4.—Samudra Sena.

As Naravâhana is a title of the god Varuna, these two names may be accepted as being intended for the same person. In the second name there is a difference; but the third name of the Raja's list, *Vira*, I take to be the same as Ravi by the mere transposition of the syllables. The fourth name is the same in both. I have known this inscription since 1847 or 1848, when a copy of it was first published at Simla by Raja Siva Prasâd. On the text and translation which were published last year by Babu Rajendra Lala I have a few remarks to make in the hope that the learned writer may be induced to re-examine the record.

In the first line, instead of *narapati varsa* (*sha*) *jah*, born in the "*year*"—of the celebrated king, "I read *vansajah* born in the "*family*" of the celebrated king.

In the fifth line, I think that *Brahmanya* can scarcely be intended to describe the Raja as a Brahman, as the family *sena* is not a Brahmanical title. And the Mandi Rajas claim descent from Arjuna Pandava.

At the end of the 15th line, where the translator finds the words of the plate "unintelligible," I find the word *samvat* followed shortly by *sudi* 5, so that the record is certainly dated. The Babu reads *lekhakotra udyata arkascha gana sosta*, with all of which I agree, but the following letters which have proved unintelligible I read as

Samvat Phakhe Sudi 5.

Phâkhe I take to be Phâlgun, and I think the date must be concealed in the words immediately preceding Samvat. *Arka* is the sun, and stands for 12 and *Gana*, I believe,

stands for 27. The date might therefore be S 1227, or A.D. 1170, which would agree very well with the date derivable from the genealogy. From Samudra Sena's accession to the death of Balbir Sena in 1851, there are 28 names, which, if taken as generations at 25 years each, would give a period of 700 years, or A.D. 1151 to 1176 for Samudra's reign.

The letters of the inscription are of the Gupta type, which has misled the Babu into thinking that the record "must date from the 4th or 5th century A.D." But these Gupta characters have been always in use in the hills between the Jumna and the Indus. They are found on the coins of the Kangra Rajas so late as the time of Trelokya Chandra, the contemporary of Jahângir, and in all the inscriptions of Kashmir, Kangra and Mandi, down to the death of Jâlam Sen, Raja of Mandi, in 1838 A.D., on whose Sati pillar the title of *Maharaja* is written in the same characters that are found in all Gupta inscriptions. In fact the Baniyas of the hills still keep their accounts in Gupta characters, and when I placed a copy of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta before a Baniya, he read off at once *Mahârajadhiraja Sri Chandra Gupta*. The Nirmand copper-plate, so far as its characters are concerned, may be of any date.

According to the accepted genealogy of the Mandi and Suket families, the real founder appears to have been Vira Sena, who was the first that bore their common title of Sena. From his time down to the separation of the families under the two brothers Sâhu Sena and Bâhu Sena there are ten generations. Samudra Sena, the author of the Nirmand record, is the sixth in descent from Bâhu Sena. From Samudra down to Ajban Sen, whose date is fixed by a copper-plate inscription in Mandi at Samvat 1584, or A.D. 1527, there are 11 reigns, and as Ajban is said to have died in 1534, his accession may be placed about A.D. 1500. The accession of Samudra must therefore b . fixed somewhere about 1500—360=1140 at 30 years per generation. Accepting the latter half of the 12th century as the date of Samudra, the separation of the Mandi branch under Bâhu Sena would have taken place about A.D. 1000, and the original foundation of the family under Vira Sena about the middle of the 8th century. The dates of all the later Rajas are recorded on their Sati monuments, as will be shown presently In the mean time I give the genealogy of the family as continued in the Mandi branch. merely premising that there are 31 gene-

rations recorded in the Suket branch, and 33 in the Mandi branch after the separation :—

No.	Date.		
	A.D.		
1	765	Vira Sena.	
2	...	Dhira Sena.	
3	...	Vikramâ Seva.	
4	...	Tri Vikrama Sena.	
5	...	Cha Vikrama Sena.	
6	...	Mangala Sena.	
7	...	Kharga Sena.	
8	...	Lakshmana Sena.	
9	...	Chandra Sena.	
10	...	Vijya Sena.	
11	...	Vâhu Sena, younger brother of Sâhu Sena.	
12	...	Nima Sena.	*Nirmand Inscription.*
13	...	Naravâhana Sena.	Varuna Sena.
14	...	Kanavahâna Sena.	|
15	...	Savâhana Sena.	Sanjaya Sèna.
16	...	Vira Sena.	Ravi Sena.
17	1166	Samudra Sena.	Samudra Sena.
18	1194	Kesava Sena.	
19	1222	Mangala Sena	
20	1250	Jaya Sena.	
21	1278	Kabcha Sena.	
22	1304	Bâva Sena.	
23	1332	Kalyâna Sena.	
24	1360	Hira Sena.	
25	1388	Dhanaj Sena or Dharitri Sena.	
26	1416	Narendra Sena.	
27	1444	Râja Sena.	
28	1472	Balahar Sena or Dilâwar Sena.	
29	1500	Ajhan Sena or Ajbar Sena *Ins:* Semtal 1584—A.D. 1527.	
30	1534	Chatra Sena.	
31	1554	Sahib Sena.	
32	1575	Narayana Sena.	
33	1595	Kesava Sena.	*Dates on Sati Pillars.*
34	1616	Hari Sena.	died S 13—1637 A.D.
35	1637	Surya Sena.	„ S 40—1664 „
36	1664	Syâm Sena.	„ S 55—1679 „
37	1679	Gora Sena.	
38	1700	Siddha Sena.	„ S 3—1727 „
39	1727	Sib-Jwâlam Sena.	
40	1750	Shamshir Sena.	„ S 57—1781 „
41	1781	Surma Sena.	„ S 74—1798 „
42	1798	Iswari Sena.	„ S 2—1826 „
43	1826	Jâlam Sena.	„ S 14—1838 „
44	1838	Balvira Sena.	
45	1851	Vijaya Sena.	

The dates on the Sati pillars quoted above are recorded in the Lok-kâl, or era of the Seven Rishis, which is a cycle of 2700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 lunar mansions, and the reckoning in consequence never being

carried beyond 100. This is the era which is used in the Raja Tarangini under the name of Lok-kâl. The first year of each century corresponds with the 25th year of each Christian century, so that Samvat 2 of Iswari Sena's Pillar is A.D. 1826 and Samvat 14 of Jâlam Sena's pillar is A.D. 1838.

The Sati pillars of the Mandi Râjas and their families are single upright slabs standing in a picturesque group on the side of the road to the south of the town leading towards Sukhet and Bilâspur. Some of them are 6 and 7 feet in height, and all of them are carved with figures of the Râjas and of the women who were burned. Each Râja is represented seated above, with a row of *Rânis* or Queens also seated immediately below. Still lower are rows of standing figures of *Khwásis*, or concubines, and *Rakâlis*, or slave-girls. Each of the principal monuments bears an inscription in Hill Nâgari characters (which are the same as the Gupta letters), stating the date of the Râja's death, and the number of queens, concubines, and slave-girls who attended him in death.

On the pillars attributed to Kesava Sena and Gora Sena there are no inscriptions; but the number of Satis figured is 30 on the former and 24 on the latter. Altogether the number of Satis, as figured on the pillars of 10 Râjas, is 252. Twice since I made this record I have passed these pillars with a shudder, as I remembered the number of helpless women who had suffered a cruel death on this little spot of ground.

I have collected these Sati inscriptions in a single plate, and I will now give their readings and translations as they were explained to me by my old friend Wazir Gusaon, the astute minister of the Mandi State:—

No. 1.—Suraj Sen.

Sri Samvat 40
Sri Raja Surag
lok jo bardhya
Phâlgun pra: 15.
Suraj Sen Sukhâli panchami-ti-
thi.

"In the year 40 (= A. D. 1664), Raja Suraj Sen went to heaven, (Surg-lok) on the 15th day of Phâlgun Sudi, the 5th tithi."

No. 2.—Syâm Sen.

Sri Samvat 55
Sri Raja Suraj lo-
-k jo hoï

Saüj pra:
12 Syâm Sen
Surag lok jo
hoï Sri Râni 5 Khwâsi 2
rakâli 37.

"In the year 55 (= A.D. 1679), Raja Syâm Sen went to heaven, on the 12th day of Saûj (Aswayuja) with five queens, two concubines, and thirty-seven slave-girls."

No. 3.—Siddh Sen.

Srî Sam : 3re Kâ-	
-tih pra = 8 Sri	Surj
Dewânji Sri	lok jo
Sidh Sen	gaye.

"In the 3rd year (*tisre* = A.D. 1727), on the 8th day of Kârtik, the Dewânji Sri Sidh Sen went to heaven."

No. 4.—Shamshir Sen.

Sri Sam = 57	Samase-
Chai = pra = 20 Sri	-r Sen
Mahâ-	Surg lok
-ja Sri	jo huē

"In the year 57 (= A.D. 1781), on the 20th day of Chaitra, the Mahâraja Shamshir Sen went to heaven."

No. 5.—Surma Sen.

Sam = 74 re
Phâ pra = 2 Sri Mahârâ-
-ja Sri Sur-
-ma Sen — Surag k-lo (read lok)
jo gaye.

"In the 74th year (Chauhattare = A.D. 1798), on the 2nd day of ***Phâlgun***, the Mahâraja Sri Surma Sen went to heaven."

No. 6.—Iswari Sen.

Sri Raja	Surg lok
Sri Isari	San 2^{re} Ve-
Sen-ji	sâkh pra = 7 hoã
	baras 27 mâ 2 = di 5

"Raja Isari Sen went to heaven in the 2nd year (*dusre* = A.D. 1826) on the 7th day of Vaisâkh, having reigned 27 years 2 months 5 days.

No. 7.—Jâlam Sen.

Sri Maha-	lok jo ba-
-raja Jâ-	-rdhya Sri Rani 2
lam Sen	Khosi 3 Rakâli 17
Ji San 14^{re}	Sahar Mandi Sati hûi.
Paus = pra 17 Deva.	

"Mahâraja Jâlam Sen, in the 14th year (Chandare = A.D. 1838), on the 17th day of Poush, went to heaven (Deva-loka), (when) two queens, three concubines, and seventeen slave-girls, in the city of Mandi, became Satis."

The last event took place on the 29th December 1838, and I remember that it was duly reported to the Governor General by the Agent at Simla. On the 12th of March following Vigne reached Mandi, when the new Raja Balbir Sen, he says, "had enjoyed his rank but two months." In another place he says that "the representations of no less than 25 women who had been burnt with him were evidently freshly produced by the rude chisel of the Mandi sculptor." The record on the pillar, however, mentions only 22 women who became Satis.

During his stay at Mandi Vigne witnessed the burning of a widow whom he describes as being "regularly thatched in." The fire was applied in different parts; and all he says was so quickly enveloped in "a shroud of mingled flame and smoke that he believed her sufferings to have been of very short duration, as she must almost immediately have been suffocated."

36.—THE KUNINDAS, OR KUNETS.

The *Kunets*, who form more than half of the population of the Simla hills, are said by Hamilton to be of the same origin as the *Khasias*.[1] This seems very probable, as they are of the same social status, and the two races now intermarry Hamilton adds that when the Rathors first came into Sarmor, the inhabitants were two tribes of Khasias, named Bhot and Kunet. According to the census of 1871, out of the whole population of 501,300 persons, the Kunets formed 57 per cent., or a total of 285,741. In the Trans-Sutlej States they numbered only 86,269 persons, making a total of 372,010 Kunets between the Biâs River on the west and Tons River on the east. If to this number we add 28,000 for the Kunet population of Kahlur, Mandi, and Sukhet, not included in the Trans-Sutlej census, the total Kunet population will amount to 400,000 persons.

The published items of the census do not show the distribution of the Kunet race over the different districts. But fortunately I am able to supply this information from my own notes. During my travels in the northern hills, as well as in the Native states to the south, it was my custom to note down daily the number of houses in every village of which I could learn the particulars, together with the caste or tribe of the occupants. In this way I obtained the following

[1] Hamilton's Nepál, p. 305.

details, which curiously enough agree with the census of 1871, in making the number of Kunets in the Cis-Sutlej States just 59·3 per cent. of the total population:—

Cis-Sutlej.	Villages.	Houses.	Aryas. Brah.	Aryas. Rajp.	Kunets.	Kolis.	MSS.	Kunets per cent.
A.—Kunâwar ...	154	1,636	3	301*	1,008	184	140	62·0
B.—Bisahar { Satlej ...	351	2,690	267	77	1,522	573	251	56·5
B.—Bisahar { Pabar ...	296	2,209	160	52	1,336	438	223	60·5
C.—Kyonthal ...	425	1,628	285	110	755	330	148	47·0
D.—Jubal ...	262	1,727	214	36	863	364	250	50·0
E.—Kumhârsen ...	221	1,121	116	36	613	199	157	67·5
F.—Punar, Rowahin, &c.	182	1,309	92	18	880	·239	80	67·5
G.—Sâri, Kotkhai, &c....	185	1,442	58	19	918	251	196	63·5
		13,762	1,543		7,895	4,023		8)474·5
Percentage ...	...	...	13·2		57·3	29·2		59·3

If we allow six persons to each house, the total population here detailed will be 13,762 × 6 = 82,572, of whom the Kunets numbered 7,895 × 6 = 47,370. But the total population of the Cis-Sutlej Hill States, according to the census of 1871, was 501,300, of whom the Kunets formed 57 per cent., or 285,741 persons. To these must be added 86,269 Kunets in the Trans-Sutlej Hill States, making 372,010 persons actually enumerated. But as this total does not include the States of Mandi, Sukhet, and Kahlur, which probably contain 28,000 more, the whole number of the Kunet population in the Hill States between the Biâs and Tons Rivers cannot be taken at less than 400,000 persons. It is therefore not without good reason that the Gazetteer remarks that the *Kunets* are practically by far the most important element in the rural population of the whole of the Simla States.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Kunets are confined to the hills, for the census returns include all the lands in the Dûn valleys, as well as along the foot of the hills, where the Kunet population is very numerous. In connecting them with the Khasias on the east, and with the Khasas of the lower Panjab hills on the west, it would appear that they must have been the original inhabitants of the whole of the lower slopes of the Himalaya, from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra. This agrees with their own

account of themselves, as both Kunets and Khasias profess to have been the masters of these hills before the great Aryan immigration which followed the Muhammadan conquests. All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are variously called Mowas, or Mons, or Motans, and all agree that these were the Kunets themselves. The fact is that *Mon* is simply their Tibetan name, while Kunindà or Kunet is their Indian name.[1] In the southern hills of Garhwâl and Sarmor they were early displaced by Brahmans and Rajputs from the plains; but in the inner recesses of the hills, in the valley of the Pabar, and along the southern bank of the Satlej they maintained their independence down to a comparatively late date. In Garhwâl they are said to have held out at Joshimath, while the Rajputs ruled at Dwâra Hath. At Dwâra Hâth there are numbers of monuments like tombs, built of large flat tiles, which the people attribute to the *Maowis* or *Monas*. These I take to be the monuments of the ancient Kunindas or Kunets, before they were driven from Dwâra Hâth to Joshimath.

It is possible, however, that these were Khasas and not Kunets. But in the upper valley of the Pabar the *Chuhân* tribe of Kunets continued to rule over *Chuhâra* until some 10 or 12 generations back, or about 300 years ago, when the last Raja was treacherously murdered by three Rajput brothers, who seized upon the lower portion of the country comprising Krasa or Athbis, the "eight score" villages along with Rowâhin or Raingarh, the country of the Rao Kunets, after which they established three Râjput principalities of Rowahin, Sâri, and Jubal. The district of Rowahin then comprised parts of the valleys of the Pabar, the Rupin, and the Tons, and was ruled over by several petty chiefs of the Rao or Rowât tribe of Kunets, who took the title of Rowâltu. Their chief place is said to have been Hâth, on the right bank of the Pabar, opposite Raingarh. The upper portion of the Pabár valley, comprising Sila-des or Rock district, is said to have still retained its independence until five or six generations back, when it was seized by the Raja of Bisahar.

According to another account, Rawâhingarh was the residence of the Rowâltu Rana, until the subjection of the district by the Garhwâl Raja, but at the time of the Gorkha conquest it was a dependency of Bisahar On the expulsion of the Gorkhas a small portion of the district around the fort of Rowâhin or Raingarh was retained by the British Govern-

[1] On the south bank of the Satlej, 12 miles to the east of Bilaspur.

ment. A large portion of the old territory of Rowâhin yet belongs to Garhwâl, and still retains its original name.

The Mangals who gave their name to the district of Mângal, on the Satlej, are spread over all the country to the west of the Pabar basin, in Kotgarh and Kumhârsen, in Kyonthal, Dhâmi, and Bhâgal, in Bhaji and Kahlar as far as Bilaspur. In these districts they form more than one-half of the population, as well as the bulk of the zamindari proprietors. In Kyonthal they are quite unmixed with Khasas, but in other districts, though the Kunets still preponderate, there are a considerable number of Khasas.

In Dhâmi and Bhâgal and in all the districts along the Satlej there are numerous remains of old stone buildings, many of them foundations of squared stones, all of which are attributed to the Maowi or Mons, the former rulers of the country. In Dhâmi one of these remains is now known by the name of Buddha; and in removing the stones from a second old building the Dhâmi Raja is said to have found a silver necklace and some other things. All the remains that I have seen myself have been simple square foundations or raised plinths, several feet in height, some built of rough and others of squared stones.

With respect to the name of *Mon*, which is given to the Kunets and Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they acknowledge to have been their own ancestors. I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Cis-Himalaya may be connected with the *Muṅdas* of Eastern India, who are certainly the *Monedes* of Pliny, as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As these last are called Talaings by the Burmese, it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telingana. I would also suggest that the true name of Mongir was most probably *Monagiri*, and that the country of the *Mundas* or *Monedes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongir.[1]

Though the Kunets have only the three great *gots* or divisions of their tribe which have already been mentioned, yet they have innumerable sub-divisions, each derived from

[1] See Csoma de korosi, Geographical Notice of Tibet in Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. I, p. 124: "The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mon*, their country *Mon yul*, a man *Mon-pa* or simply *Mon*, and a woman *Mon-mo*"

some noted ancestor, as, for instance,—

Padmaik, from Padma.
Anaik, from Anu.
Kadaik, from Kadu (Kadru).
Bhajaik, from Bhaju.

When brothers separate, each family still retains the distinctive name of its ancestor, and thus several families of the same ancestral name may be found in the same village. Other names of clans or families have been derived from the places from whence an enterprising settler may have emigrated, as—

Rangolar, from Rangol village.
Sujânu, from Sujâna.
Gyahi, from Gyah.
Nurui, from Nur
Jalânu, from Jalâna.
Rawâna, from Rawâhin.
Pasletu, from Pasleta.
Kanarayak, from Kanaraya.
Pabarwâr, from the Pabar River

In this way new names are being formed every day; and all my enquiries have failed to obtain any other kind of tribal names, save those of the three great divisions of Mangal, Chuhân, and Rao.

The origin of the Kunets, who form the bulk of the population in the valleys of the Biâs, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers, has long engaged my attention; and I believe that I have now solved the puzzle by identifying them with the *Kunindas* or *Kulindas* of early Hindu history. Under both of these forms their name is still preserved in the districts of *Kulu* on the Biâs and *Kunâwar* on the Satlej. The Vishnu Purâna gives the name as *Kulinda*, which is supported by Ptolemy's *Kulindrine*, a district occupying the whole of the upper tract between the Bibasis or Biâs River and the Ganges. It corresponds therefore most exactly with the Kunet District of the present day. Varâha Mihira places the *Kunindas* along with the Kâshmiras, Abhisâras, Kulûtas, and Sairindhas, and makes their country one of his nine divisions of India. In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of Madras. [*Madreso anyaseha Kauninda*]. He also speaks of the King of the Kunindas. This was about A.D. 560; but we have coins of the King of Kuninda (*Rajnya Kunindasa*), which date before the Christian era.

For *Kauninda* the Mârkandeya Purâna reads *Kaulinda*, which agrees with the *Kulinda* of the Vishnu Purâna. It

would seem therefore that these are only two readings of the same name. This conjecture is strongly supported by the fact that much more than half of the population of Kulu is Kunet. According to the census of 1871, the numbers in Kulu, and the two Buddhist districts, Lahul and Spiti, are as follows:—

	Population.	Kunets.	Per cent.
Kulu ...	90,313	52,836	58·5
Lahul ...	5,970	4,566	76·5
Spiti ...	3,024	2,878	95·1
	99,307	60,280	60·5

The Kunets of the Simla hills are divided into three tribes, or *gotras*, named *Mangal*, *Chuhân*, and *Rao*. The first, as already stated, gave its name to the district of Mângal, the second to Chuhâra, and the third to Rawâhin, or Râyangarh. The Raos are acknowledged to be inferior to the other two tribes, who will not eat with them. Some say that the Kunets are a mixed race, the offspring of Brahman fathers and Koli mothers. But this is stoutly denied by the Kunets themselves, who assert that their ancestors were the original possessors of the hills, until the arrival of large numbers of Brahman and Rajput emigrants from the plains. This account is most probably true, as the offspring of a Koli female is a Koli, no matter who may be the father. That the Kunets of the present are a mixed race is acknowledged by themselves; and the way in which they have preserved their status has been well explained by Mr. Hodgson in his account of the Military tribes of Nepâl.[1] The Khas and Kunets are, he says, "clearly of mixed breed, aboriginal Tartars by the mothers' side, but Aryans by the fathers'" * * "From the twelfth century downwards, the tide of Musalmân conquest and bigotry continued to sweep multitudes of the Brahmans of the plains from Hindustân into the proximate hills, which now compose the western territories of the kingdom of Nepâl. There the Brahmans soon located themselves. They found the natives illiterate and without faith, but fierce and proud. Their object was to make them converts to Hinduism, and so to confirm the fleeting influence derived from their learning and politeness. They saw that the barbarians had vacant minds, ready to receive their doctrines, but spirits not apt to stoop to degradation, and they acted accordingly. To

[1] The Language, Literature, and Religion of Nepâl, Part II, p. 37.

the earliest and most distinguished of their converts, they communicated, in defiance of the creed they taught, the lofty rank and honours of the Kshatriya's order. But the Brahmans had sensual passions to gratify, as well as ambition. They found the native females, even the most distinguished, nothing loath, but still of a temper, like that of the males, prompt to repel indignities. These females would indeed welcome the polished Brahmans to their embraces, but their offspring must not be stigmatised, as the infamous progeny of a Brahman and a Mléchha must, on the contrary, be raised to eminence in the new order of things proposed to be introduced by their fathers. To progeny also, then, the Brahmans, in still greater defiance of their creed, communicated the rank of the second order of Hinduism; and from these two roots mainly sprung the now numerous, predominant, and extensively ramified tribe of the Khas, originally the name of a small clan of creedless barbarians, now the proud title of the *Kshatriya* or military order of the kingdom of Nepâl. The offspring of original Khas females and of Brahmans, with the honours and rank of the second order of Hinduism, got the patronymic titles of the first order; and hence the key to the anomalous nomenclature of the sacred order. It may be added, as remarkably illustrative of the lofty spirit of the *Parbattias*, that in spite of the yearly increasing sway of Hinduism in Nepal, and of the various attempts of the Brahmans in high office to procure the abolition of a custom so radically opposed to the creed both parties now profess, the Khas still insist that the fruit of commerce (marriage is out of the question) between their females and males of the sacred order shall be ranked as *Kshatriyas*, wear the thread, and assume the patronymic title. The original *Khas*, thus favoured by it, became soon and entirely devoted to the Brahmanical system. The progress of Islâm below daily poured fresh refugees among them. They availed themselves of the superior knowledge of strangers to subdue the neighbouring tribes of aborigines, were successful beyond their hopes, and in such a career continued for ages, gradually merged the greater part of their own habits, idea, and language (but not physiognomy) in those of Hindus. The Khas language became a corrupt dialect of Hindi, retaining not many palpable traces (except to curious eyes) of primitive barbarism."

The language of the Kunets, like that of the Khas, just described by Mr Hodgson, is a corrupt dialect of Hindi but

it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti*, for water or stream, is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan, but it occurs in the Milchang dialect of Lower Kunâwar. It is clearly connected with the *di* and *ti* of the E. Koch and Moch tribes, and with the *da* of the aboriginal Kolish dialects of Eastern and Central India, the Munda, Santhal, Ho, Kurî and Saur or Savara. Thus within the Kunet area are the following large streams.—

1.—Râwa-ti, or Râvi River.
2.—Nyung-ti, or Biâs River.
3.—Zang-ti, or Satlej River.
4.—Pâra-ti, or Pâra River.
5.—Pâbar-ti, or Pâbar River.
6.—Lung-ti, or Zangskar River.
7.—Spin-ti, or Spin River.

I am of course aware that the Sanskrit name of the Ravi is Airâvati, and that Pârbati and Gomati are also Sanskrit names; but I have entered them in my lists, as I think it quite possible that they may be only Sanskritized alterations of the aboriginal names.

The number of small streams with this suffix is very great, as their names have not been tampered with by the Brahman immigrants. The following list shows how extensively this peculiar name for a stream prevailed over the whole country occupied by the Kunet tribe.

Feeders of the Palear River.

8.—Gumo-ti, or water of Gumo village.
9.—Kashia-ti.
10.—Matre-ti.
11.—Supe-ti.
12.—Chu-ti.
13.—Andre-ti or water of Andar village.

Feeders of the Giri River.

14.—Chigaon-ti—separates Kotguru from Kumharsen.
15.—Chehi-ti.
16.—Ure-ti.

Feeders of the Tons River.

17.—Hâmal-ti.
18.—Buraha-ti.

Feeders of the Satlej River

19.—Ghail-ti, or water of Ghail village.
20.—Manyao-ti.
21.—Khanvao-ti, or water of Khanethu.

22.—Wal-ti, separates Dodâru from Jâkho.
23.—Ti-dong.
24.—Nangal-ti.
25.—Kha-ti.
26.—Shel-ti.
27.—Nare-ti, from Simla to the Satlej.

Feeders of the Spiti River.

28.—Kyok-ti.
29.—Ling-ti.

Several of the great rivers of Northern India have the Kolish affix *da*, as Pad-dâ, Narma-dâ, Bahu-da, &c. The term for river in the Kolish dialects is *gadda*, or "great-water," from *gad* = great and *da* = water. The following names of some of the great rivers seem to me to be of Kolish origin, although they may have been more or less Sanskritized :—

Pad-dâ=Pat-dâ, or Broad River.
Bâhu-da.
Narma-dâ.
Dâ-Muda=River of the Mundas.
Mana-da, now Mahanadi.
War-da=Banian-Tree River.
Sar-da=Yellow River
Ken-da=Black River.
Da-Sân.
Tis-tâ.
Prani-tâ.

As I have already noticed, the Kunets have altogether lost their original language, which has now become a simple dialect of Hindi, with only a few non-Aryan words, which would seem to connect them with the great family of Kols.

	Kuneti.	Khasa.	Korku.	Mundari.	Savari.
Stone	Dâk, Degi	Dhunga	Dega	Diri	...
Water	ti	...	Di, Dâ	Dâ	adâ
Moon	Jot, Jûm	Jûm	...	...	...
Small	...	Sanu	Sani sang	...	...

In the widely separated dialects of the Brahuis to the west of the Indus, and of the Mons in Pegu, the word for water is respectively *dir* and *di*. Altogether I think the evidence of language, so far as it goes, points decidedly to a

Kolish rather than to a Gondish affinity for the Kunets and other mixed races of North-West India.

At the present time the Kunets form the bulk of the zamindars or landholders of the ancient province of *Kauninda.* I have already referred to the mention of their kings by Varâha Mihira, who, writing about A.D. 500, makes Kauninda one of the nine great divisions of India. As his work is chiefly astrological, he divides the 27 Nakshatras or lunar astersms into nine groups of 3 Nakshatras each, and to each of these groups he assigns one of his nine divisions of Jambudwipa. "In case these groups suffer from evil planets, then," he says, "the following monarchs in regular order are to perish; to wit, the kings of Panchâla, Magadha, Kalinga, Avanti, Anarta; further, he of the Sindhu-Sauviras, Hârahunas, Madras, and finally he of the Kunindas meets his fate."[1] Here, then, we see that about 70 years only before Hwen Thsang travelled over this part of the country, the Kaunindas, or people of Kuninda, had a king. It seems strange therefore that there should be no mention of Kuninda in the pilgrim's travels. The explanation I believe to be simply that the country is described under another name, and that just as we find Kosâmbi called the country of the Vatsas, and Vaisâli the country of the Vrijis, so the country of the Kaunindas has been described by the pilgrim under the name of Srughna.

Now the capital of Srughna I have already identified with Sugh, near Buriya, on the west bank of the Jumna, and on the high road leading from Ambâla to Sirsâwa and Sahâranpur.[2] According to the pilgrim, "the kingdom" was 6,000 *li*, or 1,000 miles, in circuit, and was bounded on the east by the Ganges, and to the north by the lofty mountains, while the River Jumna ran right through it. It therefore comprised the greater part of the Kunet country, the remaining portion being divided between the smaller states of Kuluta, or Kulu, and Satadru, or Panjor. Now this is the very district in which the coins of "Amogha-bhuti, king of the Kunindas," are found most plentifully. His date I have fixed approximately at B.C. 150, as three of his silver coins were found in company with about thirty of the Greek King Apollodotus in a field near Jwâla-mûkhi.

Specimens of the coins of "Amoghabhûti, King of the Kunindas," will be found in the plate of "Autononous Coins

[1] Dr. Kern's Brihat Sanhita, Vol XIV., p. 33, in Royal Asiatic Society's journal, new series, Vol V., p. 86.

[2] See my Bharhut Stûpa.

of Ancient India" in the present volume. I read the name of Amoghabhûti just 40 years ago, but the true reading of the name of Kuninda I discovered only 12 years ago, when I accidentally obtained a very fine silver coin of this king. My reading of *Rajna Kunindasa* was published in the Academy of 21st November 1874. In August of the following year a similar reading was published by Babu Rajendra Lala in a letter from Mr. Thomas, who notes that a "new coin of Colonel Guthrie gives the name *Kunindasa*."[1]

I have now traced the Kaunindas up to the third century B.C. when they were a rich and powerful people. But there is still earlier mention of the people in the Mahâbhârata, where the Kulindas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna.[2] From the context, Wilson rightly concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Traigarttas, or people of Kangra. In the Vishnu Purâna I find not only the *Kulindas* but also *Kulindopatyakas* or "Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills," which describes exactly the tract of plain country bordering the hills in which Srughna, the capital of the Kâunindas, was situated.

37.—AUTONONOUS COINS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

Amongst the most interesting monuments of Ancient India are the few autononous coins of peoples, cities, and countries which have hitherto crowned our researches. It is true that they may be counted on the fingers, but few as they are they are of more interest and greater value than the numerous coins of kings and princes whose very names are unknown to history. In the accompanying plate I have gathered together the coins of nine different countries and peoples, of which only one or two have hitherto been published. All of them belong to Northern India, or to the countries lying between the Himâlaya mountains and the Narbada River. Several of them are of extreme rarity, whilst a few only are common. With the one exception of the coin bearing the name of Ujain, all the specimens in the plate have been taken from my own cabinet.

I.—AUDUMBARA.

Audumbara was the ancient name of the peninsula of Kachh, but the coins in the plate cannot have belonged to

[1] Proceedings of Bengal Asiatic Society, August 1875, p. 164.
[2] Mahâbhârata Sabha Parvan, p. 997, quoted by Wilson in Vishnu Purâna. Hall's edition, Vol. II, p. 180.

that country as they have been found only at Pathânkot in the Northern Panjâb. Pliny places the *Odonbeores* near the mouths of the Indus, who must of course be the *Audumbaras* of Kachh.[1] But as the name is derived from the *Udumbara* fig tree (*Ficus glometara*), any country possessing these trees may, according to Pânini, be called *Audumbara*.[2] Now there is another country of this name mentioned in the Brihat Sanhita in the north-west along with the *Kapisthalas*, who are no doubt the Kambistholi of Arrian,[3] a people dwelling on the Hydraotes or Râvi River. For the old name of Nurpur and of the district in which Pathânkot is situated was *Dahmeri*, or *Damhari*, which is clearly a survival of the original *Audumbara*. My coins were all obtained at Pathânkot, and I was informed that they were found on the site of the old city behind the fort. Along with them were coins of Zoilus, Vonones, and Gondophares, as well as of Kanishka and Huvishka. There were only seven of the autononous coins of Audumbara, all small pieces of copper, square or oblong in shape, and very thin :—

Nos. 1-2, square copper coin, weighing from 22 to 25 grains, the Indian *Kákini*.

Obv.—Elephant approaching from the right a tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing—Below a snake, and on two sides an incomplete Arian Pâli legend * * * * *Odúmbara*. On some specimens the elephant is on the left.

Rev.—A pyramidal temple of three storeys, the lower storey supported either on four or six pillars on different specimens. To the left the *Swastika*, or mystic cross mounted on a pillar, and to the right the *Dharma-Chakra*, or holy wheel, with pendent garlands, also mounted on a pillar.

II.—APARANTA.

The coins of this country are exceedingly rare, the whole number of specimens known to me not exceeding 10 or 12. My coins were obtained in Rajputâna and chiefly at the holy lake of Pokhar or Pushkar. Aparanta is mentioned in the Mahawanso as one of the countries to which Buddhist missionaries were sent by Asoka.[4] It is also named in all the texts of Asoka's rock inscriptions, but in various forms according to the dialect of the different districts. Thus in the Arian Pâli version of the Shâhbâzgarhi inscription it is

[1] Natural History, Vol. VI, p. 23.
[2] Goldstücker, quoted by Hall in Vishnu Purâna, Vol. II, p. 188.
[3] Arriani Indica, C. IV.
[4] Turnour's Mahawanso, p. 71

called *Aparanta*; in the Khâlsi and Dhauli versions *Apalantâ*;[1] and in the Girnar version *Aparâta*. Rudra Dâma, satrap of Saurashtra, in his Junagarh inscription, claims Sauvira, Kukura, Aparânta and Nishadha as parts of his dominions. In No. I of the Nâsik cave inscriptions it is named Aparâta, and is said to be one of the provinces under the rule of the Andhra king Gotamiputra. Here it is coupled with Mundaka, Saurashtra, Kukura, Anupa, Vidarbha, Akara and Avanti.[2] In the Brihat Sanhita they are placed in the western division of India along with the Sindhu Sauviras, and Panchanada, that is, with Sindh and the Panjab. The Mârkandeya Purâna also locates them with the Haihayas and Pânchanadas. The actual position of Aparânta is doubtful. It was certainly in the extreme west, as its name implies; but as it formed a part of the kingdom of Gotamiputra, it must have been to the south of the Panjâb. It may have been Northern Sindh, with parts of Western Rajputâna, which would agree with the localities in which the coins are found. Two of these coins were published in the Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1838,[3] just after James Prinsep had left India. On both of them the name is distinct, but Prinsep's mantle had not been left behind, and no reading is attempted, as they did not offer more than the title of *Mahârâjasa* :—

Nos. 3 and 4, round copper coins, weighing 72·5 grains, the *ardha-pana*, or half-pana piece.

Obv.—Man standing to front with right hand upraised, legend in Indian Pâli reading in opposite direction from the top of the head to the right *Mahârâjasa*; to the left *Apalatasa*; that is "(coin) of the king of *Aparanta*." To the left a star; to the right a three-pronged symbol, probably representing the *tri-ratna*, or "three-gems" of the Buddhists.

Rev.—Group of three elephants with riders, the middle elephant facing to the front, the others to the right and left.

III.—KUNINDA.

In my account of the Kaunindas, or people of Kuninda, a few pages back, I have shown that their country comprised the hill districts between the Biâs River and the Tons, and

[1] See Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, p. 72, Edict VI, Asoka's rock inscriptions. I notice that M. Senart calls this inscription by the name of Kapurdagiri. But there is no inscription of any kind at that small village. The Asoka Rock-inscription is at the large village of Shahbazgarhi.

[2] Dr. Stevenson in Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. V, p. 42.—It is No. 26 of West's copies of these Inscriptions in Vol. VII.

[3] Journal Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, p. 1054, Plate XXXII, figs. 25, 26.

that it was the *Kulindrine* of Ptolemy. I have further identified it with the Srughna of Hwen Thsang, as the coins bearing the name of the Kunindas are found in greater numbers about *Sugh* and its neighbourhood than in any other part of the country. These coins consist of small silver hemidrachms, and of copper pieces of various sizes. All the silver coins are inscribed on both sides, the legend on the obverse being in Indian Pâli characters, and that on the reverse in Arian Pâli characters. Some of the copper coins are similarly inscribed on both sides; but the greater number have only one legend in Indian Pâli letters. Several specimens of the silver coins have already been published. The earliest were etched by James Prinsep's own hand in 1838 just before his illness; but all that his successors could make out was the title of *Mahârâjasa*, with the incorrect reading of *Mahabhatasa* as a name. In 1840, when I discovered the value of the Arian Pâli letters *gh* and *bh*, I read the same word as *Amogha-bhati*, and the previous letters as Kunandasa, which I took for the name of the king. In 1865 Mr. Thomas published a paper on the "Identity of Xandrames and Krananda," in which he proposed the reading of—

> Kranandasa Amogha-bratasa, Maharajasa "(coin) of the great king, the king Krananda, the brother of Amogha."[1]

In 1868 I obtained in London a very fine specimen of these silver coins, on which I found the initial word to be Kuninda in the Arian legend beyond all doubt, the same form of *ni* being used as in Kanishka's name. I then examined my copies of the legends on the British Museum coins, where I found that I had already made the reading of *Kuninda* alternative with *Kunâda* in the Indian Pâli legend. As I found the initial *Ku* to be quite distinct on two of the Museum coins, as well as on my new coin, I had no hesitation in reading the name as Kuninda, and in identifying it with that of a well-known people of the North-west who are mentioned by Varâha Mihra. In November 1874 this reading was published in the Academy.[2] Early in 1875 the subject was taken up by Babu Rajendra Lâla Mitra, who proposed the new reading of—

> Rajnah Kunandasa Amogha bhatisa Mahârajasa.
> "Of the great king, king Kunanda, of unflinching faith."

[1] Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, new series, No. 8, Vol. I, p. 447.
[2] See Academy, 21st November 1874.

At the same time he added in a postscript to his paper that he had just learned "that in the Parâsara Sanhita, *Kuninda* is used as the name of a tribe, and *Kauninda* that of its country."[1] Later in the same year the Bâbu published a letter from Mr. Thomas, in which he says that "a new coin of Colonel Guthrie gives the name *Kunindasa* as in the tribal name noticed in your P.S.[2]" Having thus shown that my reading was made some time earlier I proceed to describe the coins themselves:—

Nos. 5 and 6.—Round silver coins weighing from 32·5 to 34·5 grains. Eight specimens in my cabinet. These coins were current along with the Greek hemidrachms of Appollodotus, three of them having been found in company with nearly thirty of Apollodotus.

Obv.—A deer in middle with Buddhist symbol composed of the letter S direct, and the same reversed between the horns. To the right a female standing with right hand upraised, holding a flower before the deer. On No. 6 there is a chaitya below the deer. Indian Pâli legend round the piece—*Rájnah KunindasaAmogha bhutisaMahárajasa*, ("coin) of the King of Kuninda, Amoghabhûti, Mahârâja."

Rev.—The *chaitya* symbol surrounded by the *Dharmchakra*, with a Bodhi tree to the right surrounded by a Buddhist railing, and to the left a *swástika*, and another unknown symbol. Below the whole a snake, Arian Pâli legend around the piece reading exactly the same as on the obverse.

The copper coins of the Kunindas are similar in type to the silver coins, but only a few of them have the double legend. There are three distinct sizes, which may be called large, middle, and small. The large pieces which range up to 131 grains are *panas* of the Indian system. The middle class, which range from 50 to 75 grains, are half-*panas*, and the small coins which reach 33 grains are *kâkinis* or quarter-*panas*. The legend does not differ from that of the silver coins, except on some pieces, on which the word Râjnah is omitted, and the remaining words are arranged continuously around the coin instead of having the title of Mahârâja placed below the deer. Mahârâjasa Kunindasa Amogha-bhûtisa, "(coins) of the Mahâraja of Kuninda, Amoghabhûti.

IV.—YAUDHEYA.

The *Yaudheyas* were one of the most warlike tribes in the North-west, and they are frequently mentioned by old writers as well as in ancient inscriptions. They are first

[1] Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 875, p. 89.
[2] Proceedings of Asiatic Society, Bengal, for August 1875, p. 164.

noticed by Pânini, who groups them with the *Shaubreyas.*[1] As we are also taught by Pânini that the suffix *ya* is added to the names of warlike tribes in the Panjâb to form the singular and dual, we learn that the Yaudheyas were already celebrated as soldiers before the time of Alexander. Now the Sanskrit name of *Yaudheya* would have been pronounced *Jodhya*, and in this form I recognise the original name of the modern *Johiyas*. Their position is well known, as they occupy both banks of the Satlej along the Bahâwalpur frontier, to which they have given their name as *Johiya-bâr*. In ancient times their territory must have extended much further to the north and east, as their coins are found all over the country as far as Delhi and Ludiana. Their oldest coins indeed were first found in the old ruined city of Behat to the east of the Jumna. On the south they came in contact with Rudra Dâma, the satrap of Surâshtra, who in his Junâgarh inscriptions boasts of having "rooted out the Yaudheyas."[2] He does not however claim their country as part of his dominions, and I presume that his campaign was limited to a mere plundering expedition. If the date of his inscription S. 72 refers to the Vikramâditya era, his campaign must have taken place before A.D. 15.

A later notice of the Yaudheyas is by Samudra Gupta, who mentions them after the Mâlâvas and Arjunâyanas, and before the Madras and Abhiras.[3] This location between the Mâlavas and Madras agrees very well with that of the Johiya possessions at the present day. Samudra Gupta must have reigned about 200 A.D. as fixed by the computation of the Gupta era. More than three centuries later, or about A.D. 560, Varâha Mihira places the *Yaudheyas* in the north after the Gândhâras, Hematâlas, and others. In the same division he locates Takshasila or Taxila, and Trigartta or Kangra. His account therefore serves to fix them somewhere in the southern portion of the Panjâb, or just where I have already placed them on the joint evidence of the coins and inscriptions.

The Yaudheyas were the descendants of Yaudheya, the son of Yudhishthira, by his wife Devika, daughter of Govasana of the Saibya tribe.[4] The coins of the *Sibis* or *Saibyas* will

[1] Professor Bhândârker in Indian Ant., Vol. I. p. 23.

[2] Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, Vol. VII, p. 120.

[3] See Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. VI. Allahabad Pillar inscription, line 19.

[4] Mâhabhârata quoted by Wilson—in Vishnu Purana—*Note*. The Purana itself names the wife Yaudheyi, while the Bhagavat calls her Paurani. Hall's edition of Vishnu Purâna, B. Vol. IV., p. 20, *note*.

be described presently. The Brahma Purâna and the Harivansa, however, make Nriga the son of Usinara and the younger brother of Sibi, the ancestors of the Yaudheyas.[1] In this case they would be Anavas, or descendants of Anu, whereas the son of Yudhishthira would have been a Paurava or descendant of Puru. The difference, however, is not of much moment, as it would appear that all the descendants of Usinara were located along the Indus and its tributaries, the Sauviras in Sindh, and the Madras and Kekayas in the Panjâb.

The coins of Yaudheya are of two distinct kinds; the older ones of small size dating from about the first century before the Christian era, and the later ones of large size from about the third century A.D., shortly after the decline of the Indo-Scythian power, and during the early period of the Gupta sway. The figures on these later coins are evidently copied from the Indo-Scythian money. The early coins are of two sizes, half-*panas* of 70 grains, and quarter *panas*, or kâkinis of 35 grains. The later coins are the 1½ pana piece of 175 grains. Out of 30 specimens I find 7 over 170 grains, with one of 175 grains and another of 177 grains.

Class A.—Small Coins.

Nos. 7 and 8.—Round brass coins, weighing from 64 to 74 grains.

Obv.—Elephant moving to right (on one coin to left) with the *Dharmachakra* symbol above.

Rev.—Humped bull moving to right towards a pillar with pendent garlands surrounded by a Buddhist railing. Inscription around the coin, the first half not read satisfactorily, the latter half *Yaudheyana*. The first part looks like *Bhûmi-dhanusha*.

Two of these coins from Behat were published by James Prinsep in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. III, Pl. XVIII, figs. 11-12, and Vol. IV, Plate XXXIV, figs. 5, 6, 7, 9 and 10.

Class B.—Large Coins.

No. 9.—Round copper coin, weighing 174 grains.

Obv.—Male figure standing to the front, holding a spear in his right hand, his left resting on his hip. Below his left hand, a cock standing. Legend around the coin *Jaya Yaudheya ganasya*, "(coin) of the victorious tribe of Yaudheya."

Rev.—Male figure standing to the left, dressed in long robe, with left hand on hip, and right hand upraised before the face in the attitude of Mithra on the Indo-Scythian coins. The whole surrounded by a circle of dots.

[1] Wilson's note in Vishnu Purâna, on the sons of Usinara.

N 10.—Round copper coin similar to the last.

Obv.—Type and legend as on No. 9, but with the addition of *dwi* to the left of the head. This I take to be a contraction of *dwitiyasya*, or the "second" and to refer to a second tribe of the Yaudheyas.

Rev.—Figure as on No. 9. In the field to left a vase of flowers, and to the right an unknown symbol.

No. 11.—Round copper coin similar to No. 9. Rare.

Obv.—Type and legend as on No. 9, but with the addition of *tri* to the left of the head, which I take to be a contraction of *tritiyasya*, or the "third," and to refer to a third tribe of the Yaudheyas.

Rev.—Figure as on the No. 9. In the field to left a shell, and to the right a Buddhist symbol similar to that which is placed over the horns of the antelope on the coins of Kunindas. See figs. 5 and 6. A specimen of this type was published by Prinsep, J. A. S., Bengal, Vol. IV, Plate 34, fig. 22.

I have been disappointed in not finding any mention of the Yaudheyas by name in the account of Alexander's campaign in the Panjâb. Considering their position in the Multân Doâb, it seems to me absolutely certain that he must have come in contact with them either for peace or war. In another place I have suggested the probability that the three tribes of Yaudheyas might be the *Sambracæ* or *Sabracæ* of Curtius, and the *Sabagræ* of Orosius. They were a powerful nation, without any king, but under the command of three military leaders,[1] which suggests the probability that they were divided into "three tribes," each led by its own chief. They submitted to Alexander after the capture of Multân, the capital of the Malli. Their army numbered 60,000 foot and 6,000 horse, a strong force, which fully justifies the description of Curtius that they were one of the most powerful people of India (*validam Indiæ gentem*). I now see reason to think that the Yaudheyas may be the *Adraistæ* of Arrian, who occupied the banks of the Hydraotes, and whom Lassen has identified with the *Arâshtras* and *Arâttas* of the Mahâbhârata. As *Arâshtra* means "kingless," the title would be very appropriate for the three tribes of the Yaudheyas. The *Arâttas* also would appear to have been divided into three tribes, as the *Takkas*. the *Bâhîkas*, and the *Jârtikas* are all included amongst them. But as the Bâhîkas occupied *Sâkala*, they must be the same people as the *Kathæi*, who defended Sangala against Alexander, and might thus have been one of the tribes of Yaudheyas.

[1] Quintus Curtius. Vol. IX, p. 8.

The cock on these coins of the Yaudheyas I take to be symbolic of their fighting qualities. I note this as an illustration of the statement of Pânini that the suffix is added to the names of *warlike* tribes in the Panjâb to form the singular and dual. *Yodhi Yodheva* and *Yaudheya* are all terms for a "warrior," and I believe that the *Jodhs* or *Judhs* of the Salt Range are only another portion of this same tribe of Yaudheyas.

Since the arrangement of the accompanying plate, I have received a very curious silver coin of a Brahmanical chief of the Yaudheyas, Brahmana Deva, a worshipper of Bhagavata. Some years ago Major Herschel, of the Engineers, kindly presented me with a large number of copper coins of this chief; but the name of Yaudheya, which is found on the silver coin, does not form part of their legend. The copper coins vary slightly in the types of which examples were published by Prinsep in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. III, Plate XXV, figs. 4 and 5. See also Thomas's Prinsep, Vol. I, Plate VII. My silver coin, and about one-half of the copper coins, are of the same types as Prinsep's No. 4; the remaining copper coins belong to his No. 5. As to their age I am uncertain, but I think that they may be placed somewhere between the two classes already described, or from B.C. 100 to A.D. 100:—

Class A.—Prinsep's No. 5.

No. 12.—Round silver coin, slightly broken at one edge, weight 26 grains. Unique.

Obv—Six-headed male figure standing to the front, holding a spear in the right hand, the left hand resting on the hip Inscription, the coin in Indian letters of an early date, *Bhâgavato Swamina Brâhmanya Yaudheya.*

Rev.—Rayed female figure standing to the front with right hand upraised, and left hand resting on the hip. Beneath her feet a vase; to the right a Buddhi tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing; to the left a Chaitya, surrounded by *Dharma Chakra*, or a "holy wheel" symbol; the whole surrounded by a circle of dots.

The copper coins vary both in size and weights, but they may be divided into two kinds; (1st) pieces ranging from 121 to 139 grains; (2nd) pieces may be taken as *panas* of 140 grains, which are one and a quarter *pana* in value, or 175 grains. A single small copper coin, which weighs only 29 grains, may be taken as a *kâkini*, or quarter-pana piece of 35 grains. Its execution is, however, so superior to that of the

other copper coins, that I have a suspicion that it may be an ancient forgery of the silver coins, and was once plated with silver.

The types of the copper coins are all of much coarser workmanship than those of the silver coin, and the legends are carelessly executed, several of them even being reversed. The spelling also varies. On some, Brâhmanya is spelt with the guttural nasal *nv*. on others with the compound formed of *n* and *y*, whilst on others it is spelt simply *Brâhmana*. On a few it looks like Brâhmanda. The legends also have the addition of the word *Devasya*, which is not found on the silver coin. The whole legend is *Bhâgavato Swâmina Brahmanya Devasya*, "(coin) of the worshipper of Bhagavata, the chief Brahmâ Deva." On one coin only there is a small bird perched on the left elbow of the male figure.

Class B.—Prinsep's No. 4.

An exceptional specimen of this class is Prinsep's No. 4, my duplicate of which weighs 249 grains. The latter half of the legend is gone, only *Bhâgavato Swâmi* being left, just as on his No. 5. On this coin the male figure on the obverse has only one head, and holds a trident or *trisul* in his right hand. One only of the lighter coins, weighing 152 grains, agrees with this, all the rest amounting to over one hundred, having the male figure with six heads and carrying a spear as on the silver coin.

The obverses of this class of coins generally agree, but there is a great variety in the reverses. All have the deer in the middle, as on Prinsep's No. 4, but on the greater number of specimens faces to the right instead of the left. Between the horns of the deer is the double S-shaped symbol. This, however, has no connection with the horns, as on some specimens it is placed over the back of the animal when placed between the horns, there is generally a vase over the back, with a *Swastika* above. To the right and left are the *Bodhi* tree and *Chaitya*; but the latter is frequently replaced by a temple with pillars in front and a pyramidial roof, as on the coins of Udumbara. On several specimens I find the word *dama* or *darma* over the back of deer.

The whole of these copper coins are unfortunately in bad condition; otherwise it seems probable that some other names might have been found upon them. On one coin only have I found a new legend. This is placed right across the middle of the piece with a *Chaitya* and *Swastika* above, and a snake

below. The letters at the beginning and end are not clear, but the others may be read plainly as *Bhânu Varmma*. The obverse of this coin is very rude, and I have not been able to make out the type. It was, however, found with upwards of 300 of Brahmâ Devas' coins, and therefore most probably belongs to the same country.

V.—SIBI.

Mention has already been made of the *Saibas*, or people of *Sibi*, as the offspring of Sibi, one of the five sons of *Usînara*, a descendant of *Anu*. *Sibi* was the elder brother of Nriga, the progenitor of the Yaudheyas, and of *Dârvan*, the progenitor of the Dârvas of Dârvabhisâra. His own sons also, Vrishadarbha, Suvira, Kaikeya, and Madra gave their names to four different districts, all connected with the Panjâb and Sind. In this quarter then we must look for the Sibis or Saibas. Here accordingly we find the *Sibi*, whom Strabo places to the north of the Malli and Sudraka.[1] Quintus Curtius, however, calls the same people *Sobii* and places them at the junction of the Hydraotes and Akesines,—above the Oxudraki and Malli.[2] The first reading is no doubt the more correct form of the name, as both authors mention the descent of the nation for Hercules, whom the Greeks identified with Siva, as we see afterwards on the Indo-Scythian coins where *Herakilo* and *Okro* are the same god. According to these classical writers the country of the Sibœ must have comprised the great central tract lying between Lahor and Multân. But there was apparently another Sibi to the east of Satlej, which was the country of the famous Prince Sudatta, the hero of Wessantara Jâtaka. It is thus described by Spence Hardy[3]:—

"In the Jambudwîpa of a former age, the principal city of Siwi was called Jayaturâ, in which reigned the King Sanda or Sanja; and his principal consort was Phusati, who was previously one of the queens of the Déwa Sekra, and during four *asankeyas* and a *kapalaksha* had exercised the wish to become a mother of a Buddha. In due time they had a son, who was called Wessantara, from the street in which his mother was passing at the time of his birth. This son was the Badisat, who in the next birth but one became Gatama Budha. From the moment he was born—for he could speak thus early—he gave proof that his deposition was most charitable. When arrived at the proper age, he received in marriage Madri Devi, the beautiful daughter of the King of Chetiya; and Sanda delivered them to kingdom. They

[1] Strahan. Geogl. Sur., Vol. XV, pp. 133.
[2] Vit.-Alexandri, Vol. IX, p. 4.
[3] Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 116.

had a son Jâliya and a daughter Krishnâ-Jinâ, and lived together in the greatest happiness and prosperity. The country of Chetiya and the city of Jayatura became as one."

In this extract we see that the people of Sibi still kept up their connection with their relatives, the Madras, as the wife of the Prince was a *Madri* Princess. The name of the capital, *Jayatura*, seems to point to *Chitor*, a suggestion which is strengthened by the fact that all the coins of Sibi hitherto found have been obtained at *Chitor*. This identification also agrees very well with the neighbourhood of *Chetiya*, which is almost certainly the Chetiyagiri or Besnagar of the Ceylonese chronicles.

It seems not improbable also that the well-known name of Sivâlik or Saivâlika may have been derived from this Sibi. For as the people of Sibi were called Saibas, so their country would also be called Saiwâlika. A different derivation, however, from *Sapadalaksha* or *Savalakha*, meaning " one and a quarter lâkh," is more generally accepted. Thus the Chauhân Raja of Sâkambhari or Sâmbhar, is called the *Sapadalakshiya*, in the Gujarati chronicles.

I will now stop this discussion to describe the coins, as it is possible that some further information may be derived from them. The two coins obtained by Colonel Stacy at Chitor in 1834 remained for nearly 40 years the only specimens known to us, when 8 more coins were obtained by Mr. Carlleyle. All the ten specimens are round and bear the same types; and all but one are *ardhapanas*, or half-paṇa pieces, ranging from 63 to 84 grains in weight. The tenth specimen is a half *Kâkini*, or one-eighth pana, weighing only 18 grains.

Nos. 13 and 14.—Round copper coins; average weight of 7 specimens, 74·7 grains.

Obv.—A cross in middle with a small symbol in each angle. To the right a straight tree rising from a small circle. Legend around the piece in old Indian letters.

Majhimikâya Sibi Janapadasa.—" (Coin) of the Majhimika country of Sibi."

Rev.—Chaitya surmounted by the ***Dharma Chakra*** symbol, with a snake below. The coins are all earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. If we translate ***Majhimika***, then the legend may be read as the " middle country of Sibi." This translation would point to the division of the Sibi country into at least three districts, to the middle one of which the coins would have belonged Now the Madras, the Kaikeyas and the Sauviras, being

all descendants of Sibi, their countries must have been included within the limits of Sibi itself. Hence one of these three would have been middle Sibi." It is just possible that the *Mânjhâ* or "Midland" of the Sikhs, which includes both Lahor and Amritsar, may be a survival of the old name. As the Mânjhâ district extends to the Chinâb on the west, and to the Satlej on the east, and for a considerable distance to the south of Lahor, this position would agree very well with that of the Sibi, as described by Strabo and Quintus Curtius. It is not, however, supported by the find-spots of the coins, which point to Central Râjputâna, or the country around Chitor, as the true position of *Majhimikâya Sibi.*

VI.—BARAN.

The name of Baran, or Bârân, is unknown to Hindu history, but as the four coins which we possess were obtained at Bulandshahar, which is called Baran by early Muhammadan writers, I conclude that this may be the place. The name is said to be derived from Raja *Ahi-baran*, the "cobra complexioned," a Tomar chief to whom the building of the fort is assigned, but whose date is not known.[1] The fort, however, must be very old, as it is perched on a high mound, from which it was called *Unchâ-gaon* and *Unchâ-nagar* by the Hindus, and *Buland shahar* by the Muhammadans, both names signifying the "lofty city."

The capture of Baran by Mahmud of Ghazni is recorded by Utbi in the campaign of A.H. 408 or A. D. 1017, and two centuries later Iltitmish was made Governor of Baran by Kutb-ud-din Aibek. It was still called by the same name during the reigns of Ala-uddin Khilji and Muhammad Tughlak, and after the invasion of Timur, when the fort of Baran was taken by Mahmud. It is mentioned again during the reign of Bahlol Lodi, and lastly it appears in Abul Fazl's list of mahals in the Sirkar, as "Beren has a brick fort." At what date the old name was supplanted by the modern Bulandshahar I have not been able to discover.

No. 16.—Square copper coin, weighing 81 grains. Two others weighing 73·5 and 53 grains, the average of the three being 69 grains, or exactly one *ardhapana*, or half-pana.

Obv.—A *tri-ratna* symbol in the middle, with an unknown symbol to the left, and a palm tree surrounded by a Buddhist railing to the right: legend in two horizontal lines of Asoka characters, with a snake below.

[1] Memoir of Bulandshahar by Kuar Lakshman Singh, p. 6.

Gomitasa Bârânâye.—" (Coin) of Gomitra of Baran."

Rev.—A Bodhi tree of three branches surrounded by a Buddhist railing. To the right an indistinct animal, apparently an elephant; the whole within a square of dots.

In spite of the agreement of name, I cannot help the intrusion of a suspicion that these coins may possibly belong to *Bâranâwa,* the representative of the *Vârandvat* of the Mahâbhârata, to which the Pândavas retired on their expulsion from Hastinapura. Bâranâwa is situated 16 miles to the north-west of Mirat, at the fork ot the Krishna and western Kâli Nadi, which after their junction form the Hindan River. The place is mentioned in the "Ain Akbari" as one of the mahals of Sirkar Delhi, but the name is erroneously given by Gladwin as *Bernadeh,* the Persian *w* having been read as *d.* The place is only 50 miles from Bulandshahar.

VII.—UJAIN.

It is not necessary to say anything about the famous city of Ujain, which is here represented by a solitary small coin. Two of these coins were found amongst a large collection sent to James Prinsep just before his last illness. They must be very rare, as out of several batches of coins received from Ujain and Sârangpur, and other old places in the neighbourhood, I have never obtained a single inscribed specimen. In the plate published in the Asiatic Society's Journal there are two of these coins.[1] The legend has, however been read as *Ujayina.*

No. 16.—Round copper coin, very rare.

Obv.—A human hand, with a Buddhist wheel to the left. Legend below in Asoka characters *Ujeniyâ,* the initial letter being a long *u.*

Rev.—A humped bull surmounted by the well-known symbol of Ujain the "cross and balls."

VIII.—ERAN.

The ancient city of Eran is situated on the left or south bank of the Bina, 16 miles above its junction with the Betwa, about 50 miles to the north-east of Bhilsa, and 45 miles west-north-west from Sâgar. It is surrounded on three sides by the river, which in olden times seems to have been a very favourite position for Hindu towns. Within the separate walls

[1] See Vol. VII, Plate LXI, figs. 2 and 22, and p. 1054.

it is nearly half a mile in length by rather less than a quarter of a mile in breadth, the length of the land front being exactly 2,000 feet. But in its most flourishing days the suburbs of the town extended over all the high ground on the south face, which would have more than doubled the size of the walled city.

The old name of the place was *Erakaina*, as written in the Toramâna inscription on the great boar; but on my two coins of different types it takes the form of Érakanya.

The following is the description of my two coins, both of which are unique:—

No. 17.—Square copper coin. Present weight 24 grains; but the unbroken coin must have weighed upwards of 30 grains, and would therefore have been a *kâkini*, or quarter-pana piece.

Obv.—Three concentric semicircles, the two outer ones being divided into compartments; above this a crescent, and on each side a tall cross; over all is the name of the city in early characters of the Asoka period. I read the name as *Erakanya*, but the last letter is doubtful.

Rev.—A Buddhi tree surrounded by Buddhist railing, with the Ujain cross and balls to the left, and a snake above.

No. 18.—Small square copper coin, weighing 23 grains, most probably a half-*kâkini*.

Obv.—A bull to right with the *dharmachakra*, or holy wheel of the Buddhists, below, and the name of the city inscribed above as *Erakanya*.

Rev.—The Ujain symbol of cross and balls.

The curious semi-circular figure on the first coin may perhaps be intended for a rude representation of the city of Eran. My attention was drawn to this mode of representing a city by two curious *tattoo* marks which are said to represent the "City of Jhansi" and the "Gate of Delhi."[1] The resemblance of these *tattoo* marks to the concentric semi circular device of the coin is certainly very striking; and a reference to the map of the old city will show that a semicircle is a very good representation of its ground-plan, enclosed in a bend of the River Bina.[2]

IX.—MALAVAN.

The small coins inscribed with the name of *Mâlavâna* in old Indian characters were first brought to notice by Mr.

[1] See my Stûpa of Bharhut, and also Archæological Survey of India, Vol. X, Plate XXIV, figs. 18 and 19.

[2] See Archæological Survey, Vol. X, Plate XXIII.

Carlleyle, who obtained several thousands of them at the ancient city of Nâgar, or Karkota Nâgara, which is situated 45 miles to the south-south-east of Tank, and about 15 miles to the south-west of Uniyâra. The city is said to have been founded by Machkunda, the son of Mândhâta. The coins (which are of different ages, extending over several centuries, as shown by the letters of their inscriptions), have already been described by Mr. Carlleyle;[1] but as his account was unaccompanied by any sketches of the coins, I have added several specimens to my plate, which I will now describe. They are nearly all of very small size, varying in weight from 4 and 5 to 8 and 9 grains. Their value, therefore, was not more than from 5 to 10 cowrees—that is, they were respectively 1-16th and 1-32nd of the Indian pana. Two coins of 26 and 30 grains must have been full *kâkinis*, or quarter panas, and one coin of 15 grains must have been a half pana. With the exception of a few specimens which I obtained at the great annual fair at the holy lake of Pokhar in November 1864, these coins were quite unknown until Mr. Carlleyle's discovery—

No. 19, Obv.—Recumbent *bull* surrounded by a circle of dots.
Rev.—Tall tree, with legend in two lines.

Jaya Mâlavâna.

No. 20, Obv.—King's head to left, surrounded by a circle of dots.
Rev.—Tree and legend as on No. 19.
No 21, Obv.—Vase surrounded by a square of dots.
Rev.—Tree and legend as on No. 19.
No. 22, Obv.—Humped bull moving to left.
Rev.—Legend in two lines as on No. 19.
No. 23, Obv.—Lion moving to left—on some coins to right.
Rev.—Tree and legend as on No. 19.
No. 24, Obv.—Symbol as on coins of Taxila.
Rev.—Legend—Jaya Mâlavâna with latter *n*.
No. 25, Obv.—Humped bull to right.
Rev.—*Mâlavâna* without *Jaya*.

Who were these Mâlavân? Judging from the place where the coins were found, they should be connected with the people of Mâlava, of which Ujain and Besnagar were the two principal cities; but no coins of any of these kinds have been found there. Varâha Mihira places the Mâlavas in the northern division of India along with the Madrakas, the Traigarttas, the Kaikeyas, the Basâtis, and other peoples

[1] Archæological Survey, Vol. IV, p. 174.

less known.[1] This position agrees with Mâlava country to the east of the Satlej, which includes Bhatinda and Sunam, as applied to the Mâlava Sikhs, but which probably extended as far as Hânsi. The Vishnu Purâna also mentions the Mâlavas and Kârushas as dwelling along the Paripâtra mountains.[2] Now, this range, which is also called Pariyâtra, can only be the Rajputana Hills, which run in a north-east direction from Mewâr, by Chitor Ajmer and Jaypur, to Alwar and Delhi. The hills about Nâgar, where the coins were found, are now called the Pathar range, which, as Mr. Carlleyle suggests, is most probably a survival of the name Paripâtra. The Northern Mâlava must therefore once have stretched down to the south as far as Chitor, and it seems not improbable that the northern and southern Mâlavas may have joined borders, and that the whole tract of country, from Hariâna to the Narbadâ. may have been known by the general name of Mâlava.

X.—RAJNA-JANAPADA.

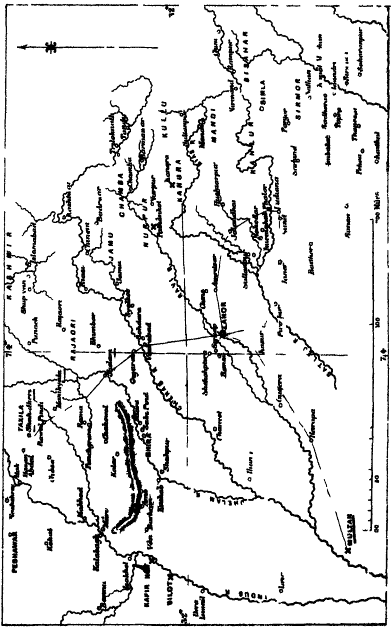
The coins bearing the legend of *Râjna-Janapadasa,* or the "Royal country," are of two kinds, one having the inscription in Arian Pâli, and the other in Indian Pâli. The types of both coins are the same:—on the obverse, a man standing with the legend around; and on the reverse, a humped bull surrounded by a radiated circle. The weights vary, five of the coins ranging from 24 to 34 grains, and the remaining two being 45 and 46 grains. The former would be *kâkinis,* or quarter-*panas,* equal to 20 cowrees each; and the larger coins are perhaps intended for pieces of 1½ *kâkini,* equal to 30 cowrees each.

The coins are extremely rare, but a specimen of each will be found in the last plate drawn by Prinsep's own hand.[3] I have six specimens with the Indo-Pâli legend, but only one with the Arian-Pâli legend. The inscription is rather an indefinite one; but it has struck me as just possible that it may refer to the Rajput country, the Rajasthan of Tod, and the Rajwâra of Boileau, and that the people may perhaps be the *Chatrîaioi* of Ptolemy.

[1] Brihat Sanhita, translated by Dr. Kern, in Royal Asiatic Society's Journal.
[2] Wilson's Vishnu Purâna, by Hall, Vol. II, p. 133.
[3] See Thomas's Prinsep, Vol. II, Plate XLIV, figs. 19 and 18.

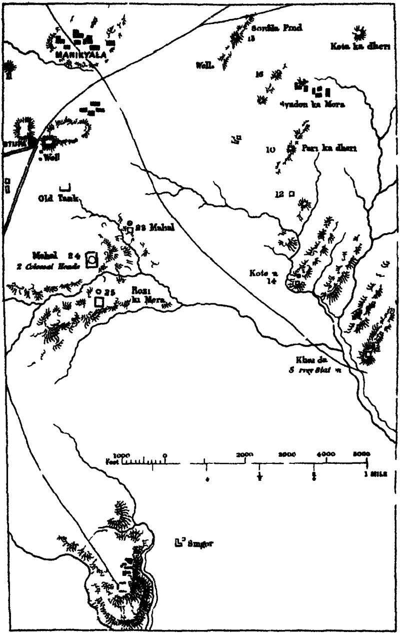
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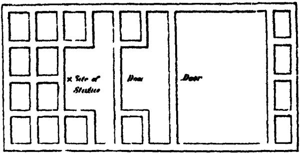


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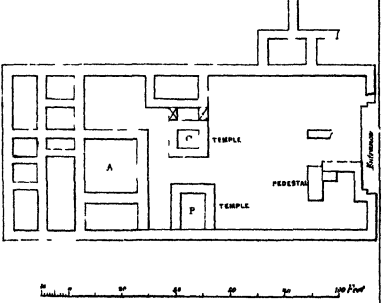
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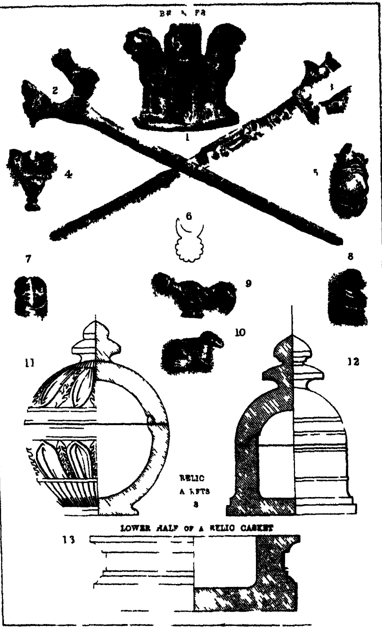
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No 24 — TWO COLOSSAL HEADS



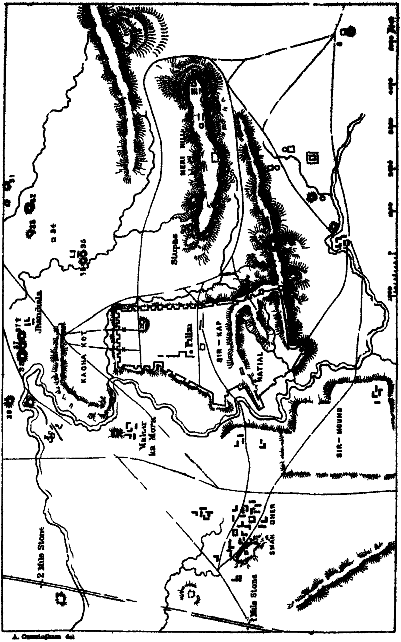
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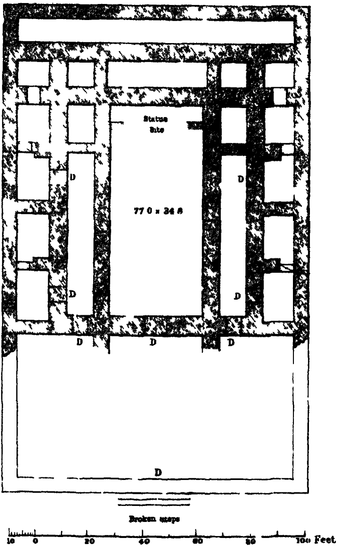
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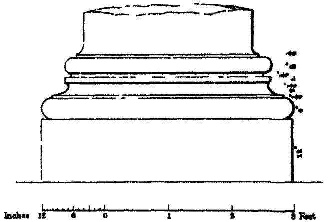
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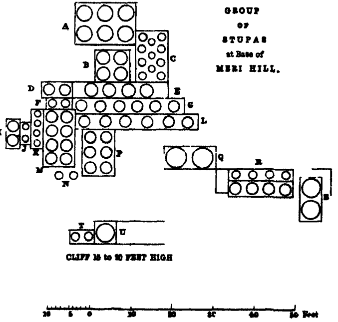


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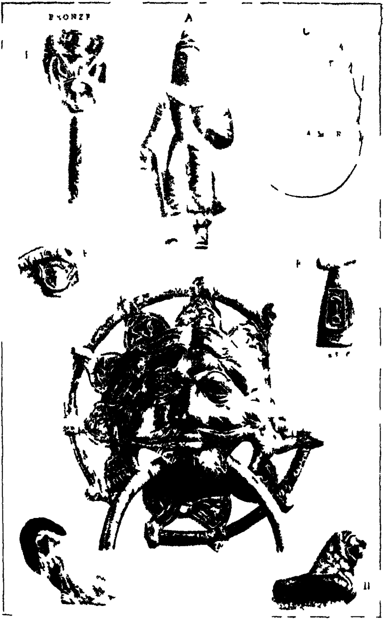
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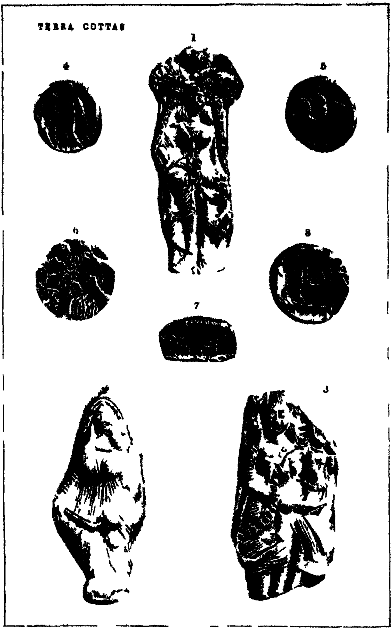


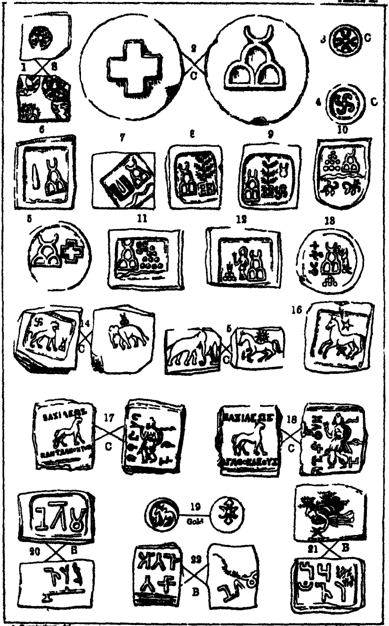


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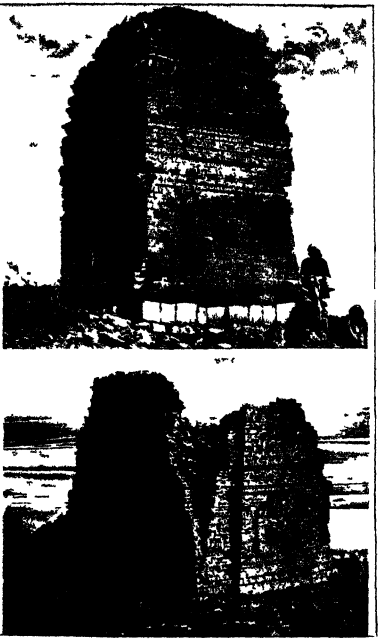
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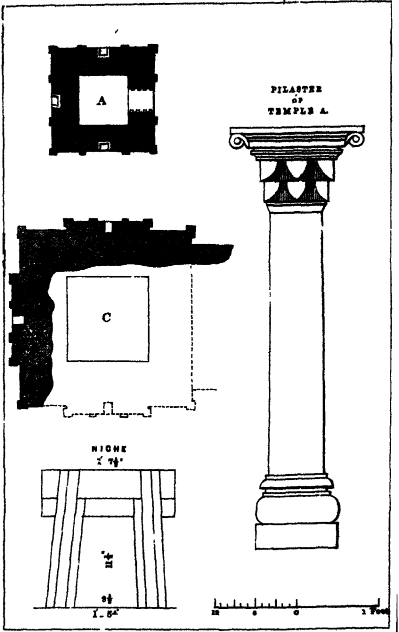
KAFIR-KOT



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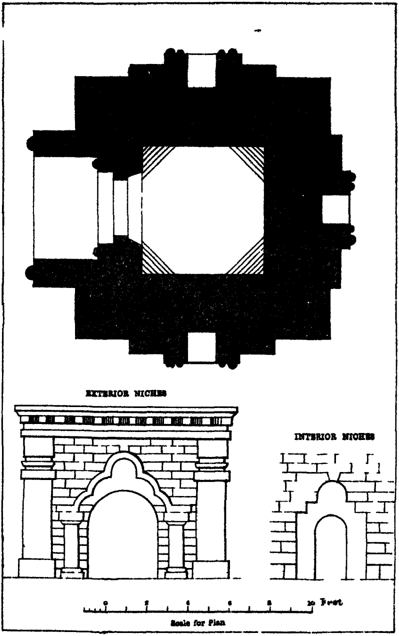


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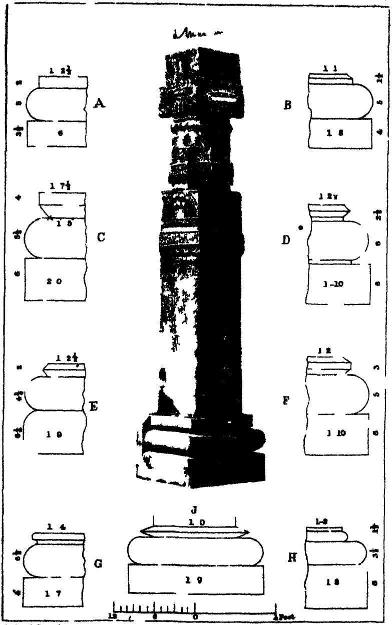


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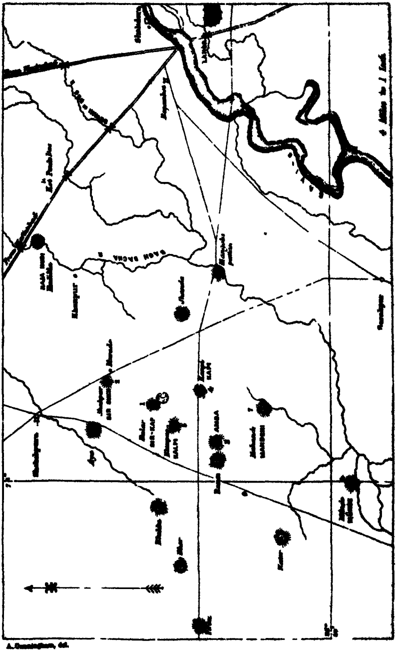
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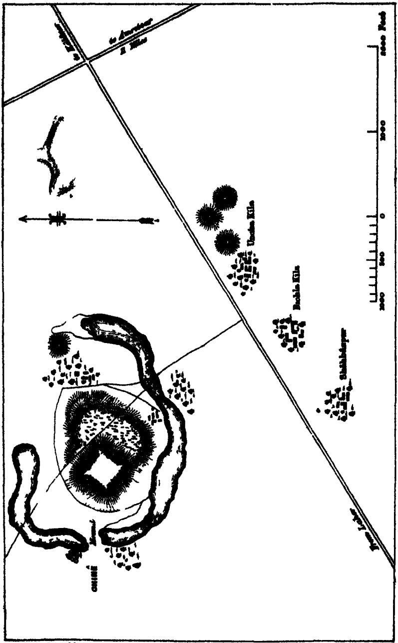
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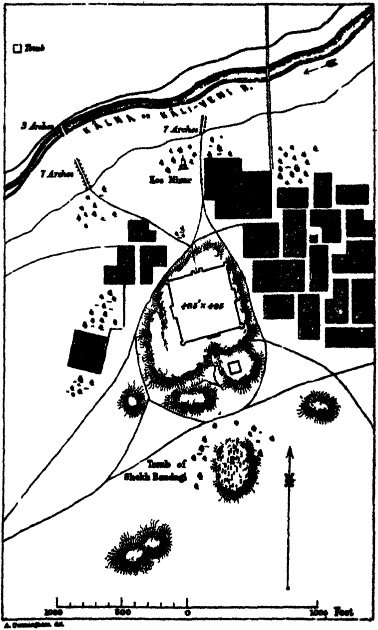
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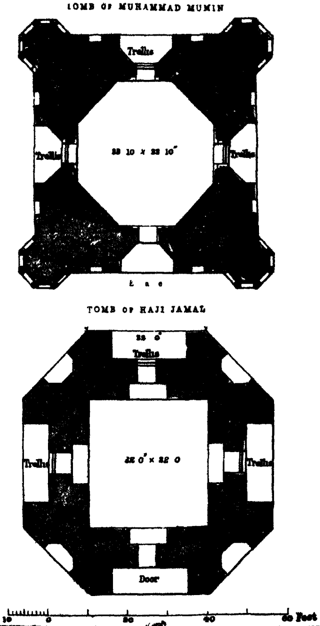
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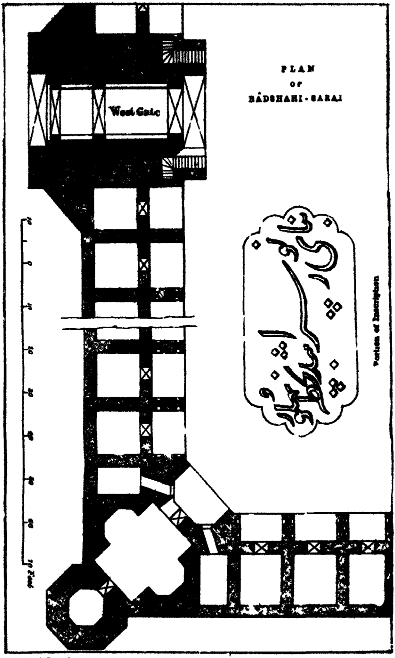
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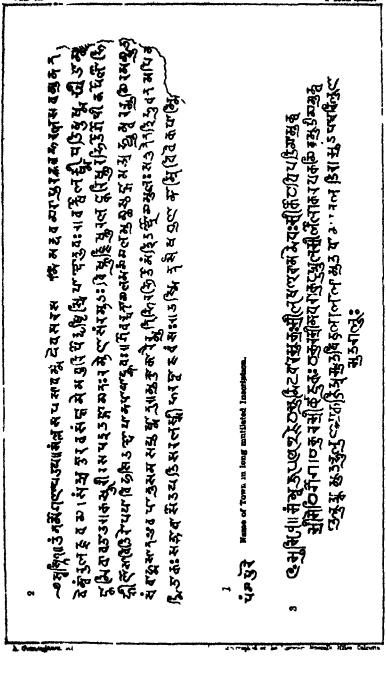
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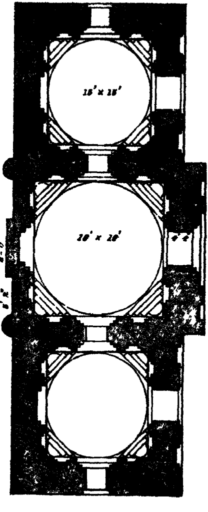
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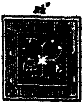


Name of Town in long mutilated Inscription.

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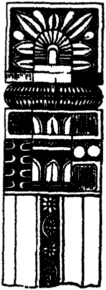
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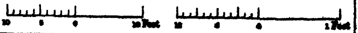




Carved Brick.

STONE PILLAR
near
JAMI - MASJID.

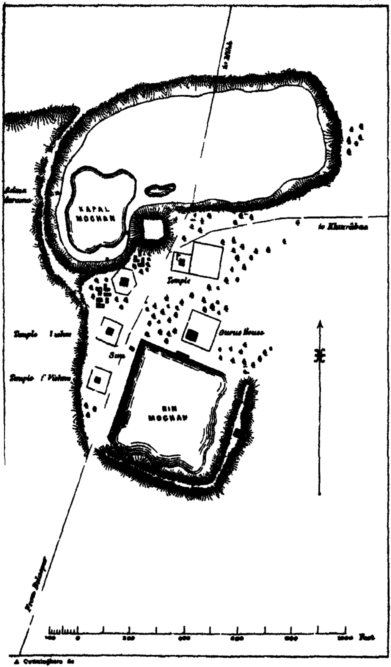




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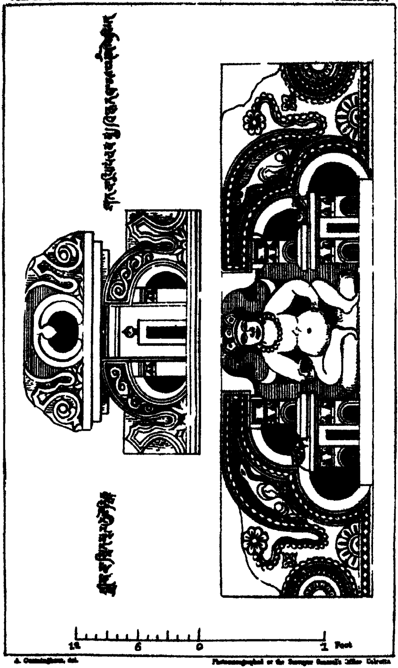
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KAPAL MOCHAN



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TERRA COTTAS FROM PEHOA

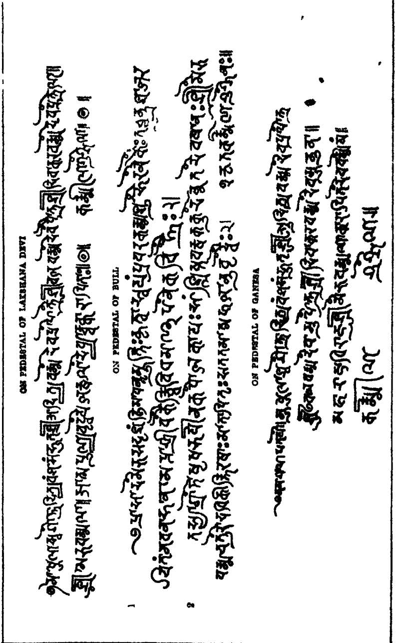




FROM THANESAR

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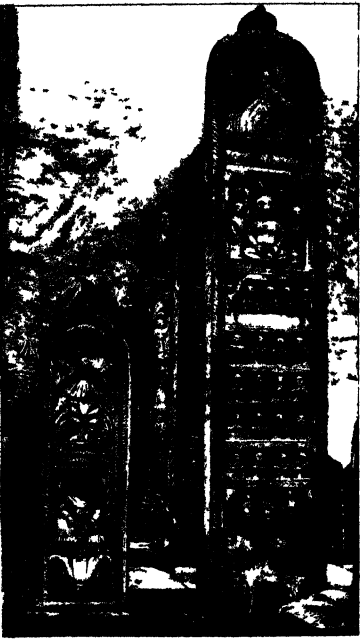


ON PEDESTAL OF LAKSHANA DEVI

ON PEDESTAL OF BULL

ON PEDESTAL OF GANESA

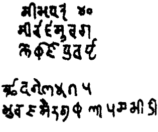
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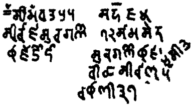
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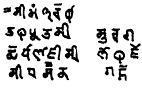
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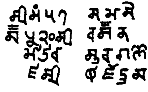
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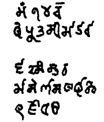
3 SIDH SEN
A D 1727



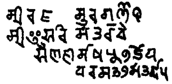
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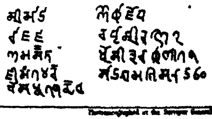
5 SURMA SEN
A D 1798

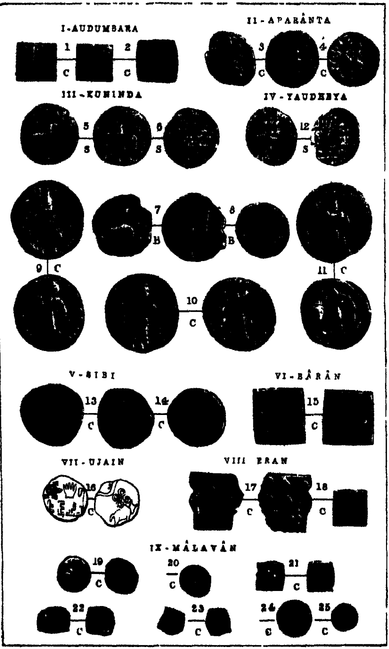


6 ISWARI SEN
A D 1826



7 JALAM SEN
A D 1839





From Photographs.

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